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IRISH 1798 COLLECTION

THE HISTORY

OF

IRISH PERIODICAL LITERATURE,

FROM THE END OF THE 17TH TO THE MIDDLE OF THE 19TH CENTURY,

ITS ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND RESULTS;

WITH NOTICES OF REMARKABLE PERSONS CONNECTED WITH THE PRESS IN IRELAND DURING THE PAST TWO CENTURIES.

BY

RICHARD ROBERT MADDEN, M.R.I.A.,

Author of "Life and Correspondence of Lady Blessington," "Life and Martyrdom of Savonarola," "Shrines and Sepulchres of the Old and New World," "Galileo and the Inquisition," "Travels in the East," "Phantasmata, or Illusions and Fanaticisms," &c.

VOL. II.

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VOL. II.—From Page 254 to 416 in running headings to pages—*for* "Irish Provincial Newspapers," *read* "Irish Newspapers."

EARLY IRISH LITERATURE.

CHAPTER I.

"The Dublin Journal."

"Being the freshest advices, foreign and domestick.

"Published by George Faulkner.

"Printed (first) at Pembroke Court, Castle Street; (subsequently) at the Bridge, Essex Street, removed from Skinner's Row, Dublin. 1725."

This journal, published twice weekly, small folio size, four pages, at the commencement of its career, was not superior, in any respect, to its principal cotemporaries—"Pue's Occurrences," "The Dublin Courant," "Reilly's Newsletter," &c.

The patriarch of the Irish press, the venerable "Dublin Journal," that lived in the days of Swift, and died at the good round age of 100 years, first saw the light of day the 27th of March, 1725. It was published originally twice weekly, at 1d., in twelve columns, on four pages, subsequently thrice weekly.

The most complete file of "The Dublin Journal" that I have met with is in the library of the chief secretary's office, in Dublin Castle.

All the numbers, however, are wanting prior to No. 543, the earliest number in that library, for Jan. 2nd, 1730, being of a date nearly five years subsequently to that of the origin of the paper. The latest volume of this set of the "Dublin Journal" in the castle library is for 1825. The last number in it is for April 8th, 1825, No. 13,671. It was still designated "George Faulkner's Dublin Journal." It was then published thrice weekly, price fivepence, at No. 15, Parliament Street, the old premises of George Faulkner, described in the early numbers in Essex Street, opposite the Bridge, and in 1768, the corner of Parliament Street. The house of George Faulkner still exists, but has been newly fronted, the corner of Essex Street, No. 15, tenanted by Messrs. Heywood & Co., paper hanging manufacturers.

The earliest volume of "The Dublin Journal," in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, is for 1743, beginning with No. 1,033, for Jan. 24, 1743. The size of the paper was then full folio. It was then published twice weekly. "The Irish Intelligence," consisting, as usual, of murders, robberies, accidents, births, deaths, and marriages, seldom occupied more than half a column.

There is not a complete set of "The Dublin Journal" in existence, in any public library or private collection in Ireland; nor is one to be found in the library of the

British Museum. In the Dublin Library, Dolier Street, there are many volumes of this Journal, but none of a prior date to 1750.

In my own library there are fourteen volumes, ranging from 1750 to 1800, and numbers from 1737 to 1768. In various private collections there are very early numbers from the commencement of this paper to 1735.

George Faulkner commenced the business of a printer and bookseller, in partnership with James Hoey, of Skinner's Row. The partnership of James Hoey and George Faulkner terminated in a quarrel, which resulted in one of the ordinary effects of Dublin printers and publishers' competition—the appropriation of one another's titles of periodicals. Hoey printed and published some numbers of a newspaper, previously to March, 1725, called "The Dublin Journal," but the journal of the same title, printed and published by George Faulkner, was a subsequent and entirely distinct publication, the first number of which appeared 27th March, 1725.

The partner of George Faulkner must not be confounded with another person of the same name who kept a book shop and printing establishment in Parliament Street, on the left hand side (from the Exchange to Essex Bridge), within four doors of Essex gate, with the sign of "The Mercury" over the door, where the newspaper called "Hoey's Mercury" was printed.

George Faulkner having dissolved partnerthip with James Hoey, of Skinner's Row, resided, and carried on

his business as a printer in Parliament Street, at the corner of Essex Street. There Faulkner carried on "The Dublin Journal," and his trade of bookseller and printer with signal success, a result attributable, to a great extent, to his early acquaintance with Dean Swift, which had commenced while he was in partnership with James Hoey, of Skinner's Alley.

"The Dublin Journal" brought Faulkner frequently into collision with both Houses of Parliament. On divers occasions he was called to the bar of both houses, sometimes was reprimanded, and on his knees had to sue for pardon of his grievous offences against the honor and privilege of Parliament; sometimes was committed to prison and heavily mulcted, in the shape of fees, before he was discharged.

George Faulkner, though the first of Dublin printers, and possessed of many excellent qualities, was not superior to a few of the weaknesses of humanity. He evinced his mortality and peccability in many little fopperies of dress, and follies of affectation of greatness, by laying claim to friendship with great and highly gifted people. He evinced one little trait of baseness, moreover, in the alloy of the fine and less noble materials of his humanity, in his conduct in relation to Swift's memory, when he published Lord Orrery's scandalous work, wherein his patron was so shamefully villified.

At an early period of the career of "The Dublin Journal," Swift became acquainted with Faulkner and connected with his journal.

Previously to the origin of "The Dublin Journal," perhaps fortunately for George Faulkner, "The Drapiers' Letters" were printed and published by "an unfortunate poor devil of a printer of the name of Harding," who had been thrown into jail and ruined on account of that publication.

But it was not so much in his capacity of a printer, as in that of a bookseller, that Faulkner was known to Swift.

In 1735, Swift makes mention of Faulkner as the printer most in vogue in Dublin.

Dean Swift is said to have expressed an opinion that if his name and writings should be remembered a century after he had ceased to live, it would be as the inventor of grave irony, applied to subjects of serious and solemn interest. Half a century after the Dean's death, a very remarkable specimen of the exercise of that peculiar power of his found its way into print, in the pages of "The Monthly Miscellany, or Irish Review and Register," the first number for April, 1796.

The document referred to had been long in the possession of a Dublin lady of high position, and by her it had been given to the publisher of it, in "The Monthly Miscellany." The following is the title of the heretofore unpublished ironical memorial of George Faulkner and George Grierson, to the magnates and gentry of Dublin, excusing themselves for presuming to suggest that the reading of good books is not necessarily attended with imminent danger to the throne or altar, or

Christianity in general, or Irish civilization in particular:

"To the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, of both sexes, in the City of Dublin.—The humble petition of George Faulkner and George Grierson, booksellers:

"Sheweth,—That your petitioners, though booksellers, call God to witness that they are not prompted by any desire of gain, to this their humble application, being able (blessed be God), in case their trade should entirely fail, to live decently and reputably upon nothing, as many of their betters are known to do; but that it proceeds singly from their regard for the honour and reputation of this metropolis. Your petitioners can with truth affirm that they have not for a considerable time past, sold any books (though they have, at a considerable expense, provided themselves with the worst), except some few old books against popery, and the newest country dances.

"Your petitioners are as sensible as any of your honours can be of the little use and importance of that learning and knowledge that is contained in books, and would not be misunderstood to recommend to your honours the useless drudgery of reading, which would too much break in upon your precious time. But your petitioners beg leave to suggest that, as the reputation of some learning is as honourable to a nation abroad as the reality of it could be prejudicial at home, it might, possibly, not be amiss to keep up the appearance by not

suffering your petitioners to shut up their shops for want of customers.

"Your petitioners humbly conceive that as reading is by no means the necessary consequence of buying books, persons, even of the first rank, might encourage trade without the least danger to themselves, many valuable libraries having formerly been purchased by persons of rank infinitely above looking into them.

"Your petitioners take upon them to prove that a certain number of books, if well chosen, are cheaper furniture, and wear longer, than hangings of a good Genoa damask. One thousand books, if provided for by the joiner, will, together with the proper wainscoat ornaments, shelves, and partitions, completely furnish one large room, which books, one with another, need not exceed two shillings a piece, amounting in all to one hundred pounds; whereas two hundred yards of Genoa damask, which we take to be the least at fourteen shillings per yard, which we take to be the lowest price, will amount to one hundred and forty pounds, so that there appears to be a net saving of forty pounds. Not to mention many other savings and conveniences which would arise to all private families from this kind of furniture, such as having a sufficient quantity of waste paper ready at hand, for the sudden exigencies of the master and mistress, or to lap round candles, or to light the tea lamp, or to make bottoms to wind worsted upon, or to pin up misses hair, or to make kites for young master, or to wet and put on his forehead when he falls down and

cries, or, in short, for a thousand other purposes, for which paper has of late been found much more useful than for the old ones of reading and writing, an advantage peculiar to this kind of furniture, where even the wear and tear are profitable.

"Your petitioners now beg leave to obviate the only objections which they conceive can be made to their proposal. As,

"1st. 'That books so near at hand may sometimes tempt their owners to throw away some of their precious time in dipping into them, at least, were it only to look for the pictures.' But this we apprehend to have no weight, considering how fully and how necessarily all the hours of the day, and many of the night, are at present employed; and that the last ten hours of every day effectually prevent any danger of that kind the next morning, by rendering the head too solid for such trifling amusements.

"2ndly. 'That as reading implies a want of natural vivacity and invention, an Irish gentleman might be reflected upon, if he were known to have books in his possession, and be suspected of reading and dullness.' But we conceive that so groundless a suspicion could not prevail long, and that the injured person would soon remove it, by the native and noble simplicity of his conversation.

"3rdly. 'That this innovation might pave the way for others of a more dangerous nature, and by degrees introduce some encouragement of other arts and manufactures among ourselves, to the great detriment of our

neighbours, and the diminution of the duties upon importation.' This danger, we apprehend, will appear very remote, if not absolutely chimerical, to all those who have seen and known the noble stand that has been so long and so gloriously made, by the nobility and gentry of both sexes, in this capital, and, indeed, throughout the whole kingdom, against any attempts of that nature. Moreover, if required, we will give security that the books, binding, paper, and contents, shall be all foreign.

"Having thus, we humbly apprehend, obviated all the objections that can possibly be urged against our proposal, we now proceed to lay the proposal itself before the public.

"The number of inhabitants of this great city, at a moderate computation, is supposed to amount to one hundred thousand souls, allowing, at a medium, one soul to each inhabitant. Of these one hundred thousand souls, one may fairly deduct twenty thousand more who ought not to read, such as tradesmen, curates, subalterns, &c., then there will remain eighty thousand who can read, might read if they please, but who don't chuse to read—such as the nobility, gentry, dignified clergy, superior officers, civil and military, and, in general, all such as are styled people of fashion, and who are above reading.

"To this latter class we address ourselves, and humbly propose that they should come into a subscription to take each four books per annum, such as they shall

chuse, at three and sixpence per book, at an average, which will amount in all but to fourteen shillings a-year, which, though a very inconsiderable sum to each individual, and little exceeding four bottles of claret, amounts in the whole to twenty-eight thousand pounds, out of which sum, upon the faith of christians, we only desire the small profit of the odd eight thousand. A trifling object, when compared to the honour and lustre which this city will receive from it, and which, if we dare so much, it wants a little. It would ill become us to collect the many modern sarcasms that have been bestowed upon our dear country, upon this score; we will, therefore, only transcribe in Latin, for the sake of secresy, what we are told Tacitus, in the third book of his annals of Ireland, says of Dublin:—'Urbs, omnino in urbana, omnium bonarum artium plane rudis, invenies potu, squalore, & inertis, tantum insignis.'

"These premises considered, your petitioners persuade themselves that they shall meet with all the encouragement they desire, and accordingly will for ever pray."

During the first ten years of the existence of "The Dublin Journal," from 27th March, 1725, to the same period of 1735, this newspaper was destitute of news of any description that could be considered of interest to Irish readers, except for those who desired to be kept constantly informed how the Emperor of Germany, and the Sultan, the Elector Palatine, the King of Prussia, and the Courts of Russia, France, and Spain, were con-

certing measures, planning accommodations, rejecting terms, or trying negociations.

The main interest in the scanty information designated Irish intelligence of "The Dublin Journal," is to be sought for in the scraps of news relating to persons, either celebrities at the date of the papers in which mention is made of them, or who had become subsequently celebrated.

Very frequently the Irish intelligence did not occupy a quarter of a column. Any amount of verbal description of the matter, tone, politics, polemics, arrangement and editorial management of this paper, in the early part of its career, would hardly give an adequate idea of its character.

As this journal, mainly, indeed, on account of the celebrity of its founder and proprietor, George Faulkner, the friend and printer of Dean Swift, and intimate acquaintance of the most eminent literary men of his day, is regarded with feelings of interest and veneration, and is, moreover, a type of the newspapers of the first half of the eighteenth century, I have placed before my readers the entire contents of the first number of "The Dublin Journal:"

March. GEORGE FAULKNER. No. 1.

THE DUBLIN JOURNAL.

Being the Freshest Advices, Foreign and Domestick.
Saturday, March 27, 1725.

Difficile est Satyram non scribere nam quis iniquæ,
Tam patiens Urbis, tam serreus ut teneat se.
JUV.

In the first Ages of the World, when Mankind was in its greatest Innocency and purest Perfection, men enjoyed but in Part the common Benefits of Nature, for even then did Envy, Hatred, and Murder pollute the very Infancy of the Creation. But if we look a little nearer we may observe how much those Evils were increased by Example and Imitation. From hence proceeded Discord, Rapine, Wars, Lust of Power, Desire of Dominion, and all those other innumerable vices which drew down an universal Deluge on the guilty World. These and such like violent Disorders obliged the succeeding Ages to enact Laws, and inflict Punishments for the Redress of such grievous Calamities. But as the World increased, so did the Vanity and Luxury of its Inhabitants, and because these did not immediately come under the power of the Laws they were the sooner, and in the greater Measure, transplanted into all the Parts of the inhabited World. Since, therefore, the Law was here Innefectual, Satyr was the chief Instrument made use of to correct these Enormities, and this

was so very successful that it entirely deprest, at least, the open Practice of them, as Juvenal says of this Time:—

> "Cum tremerent autem Fabios, durumque Catonem,
> Et Scauros et Fabritios, rigidique severos,
> Censoris more etiam collega timeret."

The Heathens, having only the obscure Light of natural Reason, and the faint Glimmerings of their own Imaginations, to inform their Understandings, had but a weak Notion of the Supreme Divinity, and of the Duty that was incumbent on them to him, so that they ascribed the valuable Title of a good Man to him that lived morally virtuous, without any notorious or remarkable Transgression, and made Virtue consist in the disclaiming and avoiding of vice. The living up to this Rule may indeed make an honest and well moralled man, but we that have our judgements enlightened by a more exalted Knowledge, make a great Distinction between this and a good or religious Man, and know there must be something more to make the latter, than the bare Omission of, and Deviation from, infamous and dishonest Principles. Religion not only commands an entire Abhorrence to all Manner of Wickedness, but also commands a true and unfeigned Submission to the Law and Will of God, so that a truly good Man not only avoids the Follies of this World, and the Vanity and Wickedness of Mankind, but also lives up, as far as in him lies, to the Tenor of that which is good and acceptable in the sight of his Maker.

THE OBSERVATOR.

On Thursday last arrived Two British Packets, which brought one French and one Holland Mail, viz.:

POLAND, Dantzick, March 14.

The animosity of the Poles against the Protestants is very unaccountable, their affairs there growing worse and worse every day. They have shut up 6 or 7 more of the Protestant Churches in several places, and the Inhabitants of the Country adjoining to the City, which is the district of Cracow, have received orders to depart in very little time. It seems the Popish Clergy think the Czar's death will favour their Designs, but some of the Russian Troops are already entered Lithuania, where they live in several of the Palatinates at Free Cost.

SWEDEN, Stockholm, March 5.

Mr. Pointz, British Envoy, after many Conferences with the Senate about the Religious Affairs in Poland, has had a Copy given him of the King's Resolution, importing That if the Poles persist in the Refusal of that just Satisfaction demanded of them, his Majesty will send the same number of Troops to Poland as the Kings of Great Britain and Prussia, in order to bring those uneasy People to Reason.

Stockholm, March 10.—A severe Execution has been made upon one Benjamin Dusterstierna, who personated the late King Charles XII. of Sweden, as also upon a Gardener, a Taylor, two Soldiers, and a Servant Maid, his Adherents and Accessories to the Cheat. The first Day Benjamin was exposed upon a high Scaffold in the

Malm, with an Iron Collar about his neck, fastened to a post, holding his Manifesto in his Hand, in which Posture he saw the two Soldiers run the Gauntlet. He was exposed in the same Manner next Day, in the Great Market, as was likewise the Servant Maid upon a Scaffold by itself, who, after having stood an Hour, was severely whipped, and then committed to the House of Correction. The third Day he was obliged to make the same Appearance in the Southern Malm, and saw the Gardener and Taylor run the Gauntlet. These five Delinquents were Sentenced to Death, but the King, thro' his Clemency, granted them their lives, and ordered the four Men to be put to hard Labour, in the Fortress of Marstrand, and the Mock King, who is really Crazy, into a Mad House. He had promised the said Accomplices to make them wonderful great, and to put them into the chief Posts of the Kingdom.

ITALY, Rome, March 3.

When the Council will be held is not yet certain, some say in May, others after Whitsuntide. It meets with much more difficulty than was at first imagined. It has been also remonstrated to the Pope that considering 'tis his design to reform the Church, both in its Head and Members, it was absolutely necessary to refer the Examination of the Abuses crept into the Church, to Divines of all Nations. That the Jesuits are the greatest source of those Errors, of the Corruption in Morals, of the Change of Doctrine, &c. That no good will be done

till the Ax be laid to the Root of the cursed Tree, to fell it to the Ground. That for this End 'tis absolutely necessary to examine the writings published against that Society, and in particular the Jesuits' Morals, both Speculative and Practicial, the Provincial Letters, the ancient Writings of the Curates of Paris, not forgetting those which a learned Carmelite published against those Fathers some years ago, viz.:—A just Defence of Self Effecient Grace Molinism overthrown. The Articles of the Jesuits and that called *Tuba Magna de necessitate reformandi Societatem Jesu*, or the great Trumpet sounding the necessity of reforming the Society of Jesus. The Holy Father received all that was said with Attention, tho' not without many a Sigh. He lamented the Evils under which the Church Groans. He wishes it were in his Power to remedy them, but sees that her Wounds are so great, from the Crown of her Head to the Soles of her Feet, that he knows not where to begin to apply the Oil and Wine of the Samaritan. It is but too true that the new Emperor of China has ordered all Christians, both those of his own Empire and Foreigners, to depart his Dominions in six Months, on pain of losing both their Estates and Lives.

GERMANY, Vienna, March 14.

We have received the melancholy News that this Day se'nnight a fire broke out at Sighet, one of the suburbs of the City of Javarin, or Raab, in Hungary, which burnt with such violence that 260 Houses were reduced

to Ashes in a short space of Time, and the Inhabitants saved very little of their Effects.

DENMARK, Hambourg, March 20.

It is certain that the Czarina has made the following Declaration to all the Protestant Ministers that are at Petersburgh, viz.:—That she thinks herself obliged, in Conscience, punctually to follow the last Directions of her late Consort concerning the Troubles in Poland, enjoyning her to conform herself to the Maxims and Measures of the other Protestant Powers, and to afford all imaginable Assistance to the poor Protestants so unjustly oppressed in Poland.

From the London Prints and Manuscripts, March 18 and 20.

Yesterday came in a Dutch Post, advising from Paris that two persons were sent to the Bastile for speaking too freely of the King sending the Queen back to Spain, also that the Spanish Ambassador has orders to come from the Court as soon as ever the Queen is sent away.

We have Advice from Paris that the Infant Queen of France, who is no longer to be called by that name, is shortly to set out for Spain. This Contract of Marriage was resolved to be set aside immediately after the Death of the late Regent, as it was at that Time taken Notice of by a certain Politician. It being generally understood that the Regent was for marrying this young Monarch to one so much younger than himself, for some particular Design of his own. In the mean Time Per-

sons by Conjectures tell us of several Persons who are to be married to this Prince. Some talk of the Sister of the Duke of Bourbon, who is about 18 Years of Age. Others of the young Queen Dowager of Spain. And a third seems positive it will be the Infanta of Portugal.

The Articles of the Impeachment against the late Lord Chancellor being presented to the House of Commons, were read a first and second Time, agreed to, and ordered to be engrossed. Ordered that a Clause be prepared, saving to the Commons Liberty to exhibit furthur Articles against the said Lord, and that he may be permitted to answer the Charge against him.

(20). When the Articles against the Earl of Macclesfield were read in the House of Commons, a Motion was made to re-commit the two first, and the Reason given was, That the Facts charged therein were committed before the King's late Act of Grace, but this was soon overruled, for these Reasons: That the Articles were like a Chain, and if broken, became useless, and besides National Justice required this Prosecution. The Articles are Twenty-five Sheets of Paper, and Twenty-two Lines in each Sheet, so that it is impossible to give the whole Particulars, but tis certain that in general they contain a very heavy Charge against his Lordship, most of them beginning with these Words:—

"That the said Earl hath, contrary to his Oath as Lord Chanceller," &c.

We hear now, one of the Articles relates to the putting an Infant under the Guardianship of a Person who em-

bezzled a great Part of his Fortune. Another to Mr. Dormer, a late Master in Chancery, who, when he died, left a great Deficiency of the Suiters' Money, and that care was taken to fill up the Place, but not the Deficiency! Other Articles relate to Persons buying the Place of Master in Chancery, who were known not to be able to pay for them, &c. The Committee continue their Enquiry, and 'tis talk'd that several Clergymen are sent for from Derby and Stafford to be examined, and that more Articles are likely to be exhibited against the said Earl.

This Day the Commons read the Articles a third Time, and Sir George Oxendon having carried them to the Lords, their Lordships read them a first Time. The Earl, being present, desired a Copy thereof, which was granted, and said he should put in his Answer as soon as possible. He also desired that Mr. Lingard, Mr. Reeves, Mr. Robins, and Mr. Strange, might be assigned his Counsel, which was ordered. Mr. Taylor, who was Solicitor to the Earl of Oxford, and to the late Bishop of Rochester, is his Lordship's Solicitor.

We are told that the Pretender's Spouse was brought to Bed of a Son, the Seventh Instant, at Rome, and that the Pope went the same afternoon and baptized him by the Name of Henry, and declared him Duke of York, Albany, and Ulster.

DUBLIN.

Last week, Two Gentlemen of the Gown, with two Seconds, took Coach, drove away, Jehu like, to Dee Park,

adjacent to the City, and there, in one of the Woods, fought a Duel; the Engagement was so smart that one of them received a desperate Wound. They both fought with undaunted Courage. It happened some Gentlemen on Horse passing by, rode up and parted them, or in all Probability, 'tis believed, the encounter would have ended with the Life of one at least, if not both, which was happily prevented.

(We will only trouble our readers with two more specimens of the kind of stuff which constituted the "Irish Intelligence" of the "Dublin Journal.")

On Wednesday last, Mr. Richard Nelson (who kept the Cross Keys, in Deanery Lane, leading from Cavan's Street to St. Patrick's Close), an Ale Seller, Cut his Throat. He was generally reputed a Man of tolerable Sense in his own Way, but was lately observed to be melancholy, and somewhat frantick, in which Condition ('tis thought) he committed this unnatural Fact, and made so unhappy an Exit.

And Yesterday, one Moll Mooney (God bless us!) a Nymph of the Town, confined in Bridewell, for deluding (as is reported) another Woman's Husband, attempted to put an End to frequent Chastisement, by taking away her Life, in the prevailing manner aforesaid, but was prevented by the want of Courage to go through the Operation, or the Bluntness of the Knife. However, by the Scar from Ear to Ear, and the great quantity of Blood, she has not failed to let us know she was in earnest.

The Editor wishes it to be known to his subscribers.

This Paper shall be published and sent to the most noted Towns in this Kingdom twice a Week. Therefore, if any Gentleman is willing to communicate what may be, in any measure, of service to the Publick, it shall be inserted, and the Journal enlarged, as Occasion may require. Several eminent Gentlemen have already engaged to furnish the Paper with Letters on Subjects moral and diverting. Letters may be directed to Lucas's Coffee House, or to Pembroke Court, Castle Street, for the Printer hereof, Postpaid.

Printed by George Faulkner, &c.

The Editor of "The Dublin Journal," during the ten years succeeding its origin, evidently managed, wrote, and edited his own Journal, had all the work of it on his shoulders, and prided himself on having it known. George Faulkner, and no other person or persons, had anything to do with the writing or conducting of his paper.

George Faulkner was an eccentric man, but possessed of many excellent qualities. His principal failing was vanity—he was essentially egotistical. But it is necessary, before entering further into the history of his Journal to give a brief account of the man himself in the following memoir, the particulars of which are taken from cotemporary notices of his career, and references to it published in newspapers, pamphlets, and magazines, down to the time of his death, in September, 1775.

"From 'The Hibernian Magazine,' for September and October, 1775."

The following extracts are taken from an excellent notice, entitled:—"Authentic Memoirs of the late George Faulkner, Esq."

"George Faulkner was born in the city of Dublin, in the year 1699. His first dawn of life, indeed, did not promise that splendid meridian to which he happily arrived. He was the son of a butcher, of eminence in his profession, and connected in trade with some of the first merchants, the exports of this country being then principally provisions. His mother, a Dillon, was a second cousin to the Lord of that name in the year 1661.

"His father gave him a liberal education, putting him under the care of the Rev. Dr. Lloyd, who, at that time, was esteemed the best preceptor in this kingdom. Having from him imbibed the rudiments of learning, he became well acquainted with men and things, and was ever ready to encourage genius and reward literary merit, wheresoever he found it.

"When Mr. Faulkner was of an age fit to be put out in the world, he was bound apprentice to Mr. Hume, a printer, in Essex Street, and served his time with a diligence and fidelity that made him his master's favourite. His application to business was remarkable; his endeavours to become thoroughly acquainted with every branch of his trade, and to execute each, both with taste and propriety, were unwearied. Hence he justly acquired a beginning of that extensive esteem, which it was always his study to encrease still more.

"But his master was not the only one in the family whose good graces he had procured; Miss Hume looked upon him with a favourable eye, and made an impression on the heart of young George. These sweet expectations made him ardently wish for an expiration of his apprenticeship; but, alas! when the long expected period arrived, he met with a bitter disappointment.

"George's heart, made of penetrable stuff, and formed for receiving every tender sensation, was greatly pained at this miscarriage of his hopes. He sought relief from his anxiety by a close application to business, which he began in partnership with the late Mr. James Hoey, and they opened a bookseller's shop and printing office, in Skinner Row, the corner of Christ-church-lane.

"Here Mr. Faulkner first began 'The Dublin Journal,' in the year 1724.* There is no business which tends to make a man more universally known than that of a news-printer; his connections became thereby greatly enlarged, and his punctuality, diligence, and affability (unmixed with either petulence or effrontery) with a peculiar obligingness in his manner, for which he was ever remarkable, created him many valuable friends and connections.

"The partnership, however, was not of a very long continuance; some disputes arose between the partners which caused a separation, and Mr. Faulkner removed to Essex Street. near to the spot on which his house now

*The above statement is erroneous; the first number of George Faulkner's "Dublin Journal" was published the 27th March, 1725.—R. R. M.

stands. At that period he first attracted the notice of the late Dean Swift (that luminary of Ireland) and then began a connection, which lasted to the Dean's death.

"As the Dublin Journal was rising daily in public estimation, it gradually became the vehicle of the wit and humour of the times. The Dean, occasionally, furnished it with many of his writings, and enriched it with a multiplicity of valuable paragraphs; this stamped merit upon it, and fixed it on a permanent basis, so that it became a source of wealth.

"Mr. Faulkner, having by this time obtained an easy situation, began to think of marriage. Some business drew him to London, where he became enamoured of a widow lady, the relict of Mr. Taylor, whom he soon after married, and brought with him to Dublin. This first journey was successful and agreeable; the next he took to that metropolis proved very unfortunate, for before he embarked he had received a slight hurt on one of his shins, which he disregarded so much, that on his going on board the vessel, he put on his boots, and did not pull them off till his arrival in London; he then found his error in not having paid a proper attention to his hurt, for the journey had inflamed it to so violent a degree, that the best assistance could not prevent a gangrene, which spread so rapidly that he had no other means of saving his life than by the loss of his limb.

"On his return to Dublin, Mr. Faulkner derived a great increase to his property, by the publication of four volumes of Dr. Swift's works; the sale was very exten-

sive; but in the beginning of it, and before he had made much profit thereof, he fell under the censure of the House of Commons, for a breach of privilege,* complained of by one of their members (Serjeant Bettesworth), and by a vote of the house, in the session of 1735, he was committed to Newgate, and was not released till he had made several applications and a public submission, when he was ordered to be discharged on paying his fees. These fees were large; but the officers to whom they were due, holding Mr. Faulkner in great esteem, were generously pleased to accept, each of them, of a set of Dr. Swift's works in lieu of their respective claims.

"His persecution made him more popular; his shop became the rendezvous of the friends of Ireland, and of the most distinguished in literature; and he continued to rise in eminence, esteem, and affluence.

"In the year 1745, the Earl of Chesterfield was Lord Lieutenant of this kingdom; his Lordship was pleased to take notice of Mr. Faulkner, whom he honoured frequently with his presence, and with whom he constantly corresponded till his death. A very large collection of the Earl's letters to Mr. Faulkner is now in the hands of his successor.

"In the course of Lord Chesterfield's administration here, his excellency was graciously pleased to make Mr. Faulkner an offer of conferring the honour of knight-

* Mr. Faulkner had published "A new Proposal for the better Regulation of Quadrille," written by Dr. Hort, late archbishop of Tuam, which the Serjeant imagined reflected on him.

hood on him, which he modestly declined. This unlooked-for compliment of his excellency, which Mr. Faulkner's prudent refusal of, it might naturally be expected, would have exempted him from all imputation of vanity, subjected him to a piece of unmerited ridicule.

"A young clergyman, of the name of Stevens, then on the most friendly footing with Mr. Faulkner, happening to dine with him when this intended honour was the subject of conversation between Mr. and Mrs. Faulkner, who both discussed the point in the gaiety and openness of their hearts, framed from the conversation a very lively poem, which he intitled "Chivalry no Trifle; or, The Knight and his Lady. A Tale." This piece lay by the author some time; but receiving the joint approbation of those acquaintance to whom he showed it, who considered the merit only of the performance, and not the stigma its publication would cast on the author, he at length ventured to print it, and sacrificed both friend and honour to a temporary vanity.

"Mr. Faulkner was in London when this piece was published, and received it, inclosed in a letter, from Mrs. Faulkner, in which she expressed her resentment against the author; but Mr. Faulkner, quite unaffected, laughed at the ridicule, and brought it immediately to a bookseller for publication. Conscious of a rectitude of heart, indifference was generally the shield he opposed to the many shafts that were repeatedly levelled against him.

"In the year 1757 Mrs. Faulkner died, after a painful indisposition, which she bore with fortitude and re-

signation, leaving no issue; and as Mr. Faulkner was then in his fifty-eighth year he had no disposition to re-enter the marriage state.

"Some time after the decease of his wife, Mr. Faulkner was informed of the distressful situation of Miss Hume, his first love, who, by various vicissitudes, was reduced to the wretched situation of selling fruit to earn a scanty and precarious subsistence. Compassion took place of resentment; the perfidy of the mistress instantly vanished in the misery of the sufferer; he sent her relief, and continued to give her a weekly pension while she lived.

"Mr. Foote, the prowling Aristophanes of our age, ever eager to seize on any popular character, in the winter of the year 1762, brought on his farce of "The Orators," at Smock-alley theatre, and introduced Mr. Faulkner under the character of Peter Paragraph. There was nothing sufficiently ridiculous, either in the person or manner of Mr. Faulkner, to authorise this step; he had lost a leg it was true, and some of his teeth were dashed out by a fall from his horse, which occasioned him to lisp. Foote, in this piece, recited a contemptible dialogue, reflecting on the memory of the late Mrs. Faulkner; this was too much for an affectionate husband to bear: the ridicule against himself he could support, the malevolent insinuations against the unsullied fame of a wife were insupportable. Mr. Faulkner commenced a suit against the illiberal defamer. The cause was tried before Mr. Justice Robinson, who, in an excellent charge to the

jury, expatiated pathetically on such scandalous prostitutions of the stage; the jury found for the plaintiff, and Foote was forced instantly to decamp. This was not the only instance where Mr. Faulkner showed a becoming spirit.

"A few years after, Mr. Foote had the misfortune to lose his leg by a fall from a horse; here was an opportunity for recrimination; but Mr. Faulkner barely mentioned the accident in his journal, and was too humane to make any invidious remarks on it. He afterwards, at the mediation of Lord Townshend, generously permitted Mr. Foote to appear unmolested on the Dublin theatre, though he might have recovered considerable damages from him.

"In the year 1768, Mr. Faulkner was elected a sheriff of the city of Dublin; but, his infirmities rendering him incapable to discharge the duties of that active office, he paid the fine.

"About the middle of the year 1770, Mr. Faulkner was drawn into a dispute with Mr. Howard on the following occasion:—On Tuesday, May 22, there appeared in the Dublin Journal an advertisement, announcing that 'On the 1st of June will be published No. 1 of a pamphlet (to be continued monthly), called *The Monstrous Magazine*, containing whatever tends to extort amazement in art or nature, fact or fiction, occasionally interspersed with the impossible. Inscribed to the incomparable author of Almeyda, or the Rival Kings; as also the tragedy of Tarah, and other literary productions, in

hopes of his future favours." Mr. Howard, on seeing this advertisement in the journal, hastened to Mr. Faulkner, and asked him if he had read it, who assured Mr. Howard he had not. Mr. Howard then asserted that it was calculated to reflect on him, which Mr. Faulkner said he could not imagine, and advised Mr. Howard to wait patiently for the publication of the pamphlet; they then parted, seemingly satisfied with each other; but the evening of the same day Mr. Faulkner received a letter from Mr. Howard, in which were evident marks of passion, and ending with the following sentence: 'But Mr. Howard finds that Mr. Faulkner reverses St. Paul's maxim, *That godliness is great gain*, for with Mr. Faulkner great gain is godliness.'

"The rumour of these bickerings circulated through the town; some malicious wits, with a view of widening the breach, had inserted some paragraphs and epigrams in the Dublin Mercury, reflecting on Mr. Faulkner; this laid him under the necessity of appealing to the public, which he did in his journal of Tuesday, May 29.

"For near a month the papers teemed with this dispute, the wits above hinted at, writing for and against the adverse gentlemen, in order to protract it. Mr. Faulkner published Mr. Howard's two letters, one of which was severely animadverted on by a person who signed himself 'Monstrum Horrendum.'

"In the same year, when this dispute had nearly sub-

sided, Mr. Faulkner was elected an alderman; and, so far as his health permitted, executed the duties of that office with integrity and a becoming dignity.

"In the year 1771 there appeared 'An Epistle to Gorges Edmund Howard, Esq., with Notes, explanatory, critical, and historical. By George Faulkner, Esq. and Alderman.' This epistle, calculated principally to ridicule these* two gentlemen, is replete with wit and humour. The style of Mr. Faulkner, which was often unconnected, and abounding with epithets, principally owing to a luxuriant, but uncorrected imagination, is happily enough imitated. The day before its publication Mr. Faulkner invited the authors† of it, with a number of other gentlemen, to dine with him; and, after an elegant repast, informed them of the intended publication, and repeatedly toasted the gentleman whom he said was principal in the work. The feelings of this gentleman and his associate on the occasion (for they both confessedly have them) cannot easily be described; but the rage for fame as writers was stronger than the gentle pleadings of justice or humanity; the piece was published the next day, and they were not disappointed in their expectations, for in a short time it ran through many editions,‡ though the ridicule was

* Some other characters have likewise been attacked in this piece, particularly Mr. S. Whyte, teacher of an English Grammar School; the Rev. Dr. Dennis, chaplain to Lord Townshend; the Rev. Dr. Burroughs, curate of St. Thomas; Henry Brooke, Esq., author of 'The Fool of Quality,' &c., with a number of other personages.

† They were supposed to be Messrs. Jephson and Courtney, assisted by Mr. M'Dermot.

‡ It has since been inserted among 'Essays from the Batchelor,' printed in London, in two vols., by T. Becket, in the Strand.

pointed chiefly against an unoffending and rather amiable character.

"Mr. Faulkner's love of social life, which was rather indulged by his city honours, in some measure precipitated his end; an uninterrupted state of good health threw him off his guard, and he seemed either insensible of the approaches of old age, or to disregard them. He had dined lately with some gentlemen at an outlet near the city, in a tavern which was newly painted (the pernicious effects of which are sufficient to destroy both the lungs and nerves of the most robust, but to infirm or delicate persons frequently occasions a stroke of an epilepsy). He died the 30th of August, 1775, aged 76, after printing the 'Dublin Journal' upwards of 50 years.

"Mr. James Potts, an old acquaintance of his, says he was a man something under the middle size, but when sitting looked tolerably lusty, his body being rather large; his features were manly; his countenance pleasing, though grave; and his whole aspect not destitute of dignity; his limbs were well formed, and in his youth he was strong and active.

"He had an excellent memory, which, from the variety he saw and heard, rendered him a pleasing companion; nor did any anecdote he related lose of its original wit or humour by his narration; he wanted not steadiness, and shewed a degree of fortitude under the amputation of his leg, which would not have disgraced even a Regulus; while living, he gave numberless proofs

of a humane and charitable disposition, and has left many incontrovertible ones.*

"He was the first printer in this kingdom who undertook expensive works on his own account; the Universal History, in seven vols. folio, with maps and cuts, is a proof that almost in the infancy of printing, a spirit only like his, could bring so arduous an undertaking to bear: he has since been emulated by several others, yet is intitled to the praise of the first encourager of his art in this kingdom, which has saved to the nation the great sums that were formerly sent out of it for books.

"In short, whether he be considered in his public or private character, we shall find him transcendantly eminent; as a citizen, of approved probity in his dealings, generous, and hospitable; as a news-printer, unwearied for the reformation of abuses, and the information and benefit of the community, often accomplishing what a more correct writer might have failed of doing, as almost every paragraph he wrote caught the public attention; as a shopkeeper, courteous and obliging to every rank; as a husband, relation, friend, affectionate,

* Contrary to the common mode of bequests, Mr. Faulkner left legacies to such of his relations only as wanted them, or were in some sort dependent on him, and they are principally annuities for life; the public ones are as follow:

	£		£
Swift's Hospital for Lunatics	... 100	Hibernian School for Soldiers' Children	... 10
Blue Coat Hospital	... 100	Marine School for Sailors' Children	... 10
Lying-in Hospital	... 50	Mercer's Hospital	... 10
Alms-house of St. Nicholas without, called St. Patrick's, the parish he was born in	... 50	Steeven's Hospital	... 10
Alms-house of St. Werburgh	... 30	Lock Hospital	... 10
Inn's-quay Infirmary	.. 20	St. Nicholas's Hospital	10
Hospital for Incurables	... 15	Meath Hospital	... 10
		Dublin Hospital	... 10

tender, social, and entertaining. He was of no party, yet enjoying the friendship of all. Men of the first literary abilities, noblemen of the first distinction, reciprocally admitting him to their board and honouring his, in which he was splendid and elegant.

"We shall conclude this narrative with the following abstracts from the Journals of the House of Commons Vol. VI., which afford a circumstantial account of Mr. Faulkner's confinement.

" 'Wednesday, 3rd March, 1735.

" 'A complaint having been made to the house of a printed pamphlet, entitled, "A new Proposal for the better Regulation and Improvement of Quadrille," wherein are two scandalous paragraphs highly reflecting on a member of this house; and it appearing in evidence that the said pamphlet was published and sold by George Faulkner, printer, in Essex Street:

" 'Ordered, that the said George Faulkner be, for his said offence, taken into the custody of the serjeant-at-arms attending this house.'

" 'George Faulkner, printer, in custody of the serjeant-at-arms, was brought to the bar and examined, touching the pamphlet, entitled, "A new Proposal for the better Regulation and Improvement of Quadrille," and the pamphlet being produced to him, he there owned that he had printed and published the same.

" 'Ordered, that the said George Faulkner be, for the said offence, committed close prisoner to Newgate; and that Mr. Speaker do issue his warrant accordingly.'

" 'Friday, 5th of March, 1735.

" 'A petition of George Faulkner, printer, now in Newgate, setting forth that he is in a very bad state of health, and that at present there is a malignant fever in the said gaol, and expressing his sorrow for his offence, and begging pardon of the house, and praying to be discharged, or removed to some other place, was presented to the house and read.

" 'Ordered, that the said George Faulkner be removed from Newgate (Newgate being an infectious place) and be continued in custody of the serjeant-at-arms attending this house.

" 'Monday, 8th of March, 1735.

" 'Edward Waters was ordered to Newgate, for reprinting said pamphlet.'

" 'Tuesday, 9th of March, 1735.

" 'A petition of George Faulkner, printer, in custody of the serjeant-at-arms attending this house, expressing his sorrow for his offence, and begging pardon of this house, and praying to be discharged, was presented to the house and read.

" 'Ordered, that the said George Faulkner be discharged out of custody, paying his fees.'

"A number of anecdotes of Dean Swift and Mr. Faulkner are retailed; we shall mention two of them, which, being current, are perhaps the most authentic.

"On the death of Mr. Harding, the dean's former printer, he sent for the printer of 'The Dublin Journal,'

and was waited on by Mr. James Hoey, whom the dean asked 'if he was a printer?' Mr. Hoey answered, 'he was an *apology* for one;' the dean, piqued at the freedom of this answer, asked further, 'where he lived?' he replied, '*facing* the Tholsel;' the dean then turned from Mr. Hoey and bid him send his partner. Mr. Faulkner accordingly waited on the dean, and being asked the same questions, answered 'he was;' also, 'that he lived *opposite* to the Tholsel;' 'then,' said the dean, 'you are the man I want,' and from that time commenced his friend.

"Mr. Faulkner, being sent for by the dean on some business, put on a gold lace waistcoat; being introduced the dean affected not to know him, and asked him 'who he was,' he answered, 'I am Faulkner, your printer, Mr. Dean.' 'No,' said the dean, 'my printer is a plain, honest citizen, and you, sir, are a fop.' Mr. Faulkner took the hint, withdrew, and returned a short time after in a plain dress, was recognized, and well received, &c."*

So far for "The Authentic Memoirs of George Faulkner," published in "The Hibernian Magazine," for September and October, 1775.

Other cotemporaries of George Faulkner have left reminiscences of him, some satirical and sarcastic, others graphic and faithful, delineations of the man, not unmindful of his peculiarities, but just and fair in their discrimination of his worth, usefulness, and liberality.

He took an especial delight in mingling at his

* Walker's "Hibernian Magazine," for September and October, 1775.

hospitable table persons of all parties, creeds, politics, and polemics, of incongruous tastes and opinions, but celebrities of some kind or other in their several pursuits, callings, or position, and it was undoubtedly this mingling of guests of different categories that rendered the dinners of George Faulkner so agreeable, as they were generally allowed to be.

The greatest of all dinner-giving mistakes is congregating persons of the same profession or pursuit at the same dinner.

He was capable of doing signal services to literary men in need of assistance, and such services were often very badly repaid by them. His vanity and egotism led him habitually in society into little absurdities of a ridiculous nature, which made him the butt not unfrequently of his own guests, and rather rendered him perfectly indifferent to their sallies at his expense than unconscious of them.

The only blot I have been able to discover in the career of George Faulkner, is his publication of Lord Orrery's malignantly hostile book against Swift, of whom that same Lord had been the professed friend and admirer.

That act is not atoned for by his subsequent proclamation of sentiments of the highest veneration for the memory of his illustrious patron, Dean Swift, nor by placing a marble bust of that patron on his counter, and a picture of him in his drawing-room. That bust, long after Faulkner's death, was presented by his nephew and

successor, Thomas Todd Faulkner, to St. Patrick's Cathedral, where it once stood over the monument of Swift, in the principal aisle in the cathedral, but where it stands no longer, and where the monument of Swift stands no longer over the spot where his remains are deposited. So much for the modern vandalism of cathedral restorers.

Long after Lord Chesterfield's departure from Ireland, George Faulkner, when he visited London, used to be the welcome guest of Lord Chesterfield, and, in correspondence, to be addressed by him, "Worthy Friend." His Lordship reminds him, in one of his letters, of his association with "Swift, Berkely, and all the best Irish authors of the Irish Augustan Age." His shop was not only frequented by the best Irish authors of the day, but his hospitable board was frequently honoured by their presence, and enlivened with their learning, wit, and humour.

George Faulkner, at the beginning of his career, was a Protestant ascendancy champion, but he was reclaimed from the errors of the besotted bigots of that faction by the writings of Charles O'Connor and Dr. Currie.

Mr. O'Connor speaks of Faulkner as a man whose name deserves to be handed down to posterity as the first Protestant who stretched out his hand to the prostrate Christian Catholic, recognised him as a fellow Christian and a brother, and endeavoured to raise him to the rank of a subject and a Freeman.

With respect to Foote's outrage on public decency, by

dragging on the stage the personal peculiarities and personal defects of a respectable citizen, a few particulars more than have been given in the memoir I have cited may be acceptable.

William Cooke, in his "Memoirs of Samuel Foote, Esq.," tells us that Foote's new piece, called, "The Orators," was first performed in London, in ridicule of Sheridan, then lecturing successfully on Oratory. The original design was to ridicule the prevailing passion for oratory, the debating society held at the Robin Hood Tavern, and the Cock Lane Ghost. With these materials, the peculiarities of some living literary celebrities, were to be worked up. Dr. Johnson was to be brought on the stage, but the doctor no sooner got an intimation of the intended outrage than he took care, with as much publicity as he thought necessary, to provide himself with a stout stick, and caused it to be made known to Foote that he intended to make his appearance at the theatre, *in propria persona*, the first night of the intended performance, and to punish on the spot any buffoon who would make him a subject of public ridicule. The threat had the desired effect—Johnson was left out of the piece; and when it was played in Dublin, at the Smock Alley Theatre, George Faulkner was introduced, in the character of "Peter Paragraph," with his wooden leg and all his oddities, sufficiently burlesqued and exaggerated.

"And such," says Mr. Cooke, "is the propensity of human nature for personal scandal, that the comedy was

principally supported by this character, and crowded audiences were repeatedly roaring at a few commonplace stories, told in a ridiculous manner, by a man hopping on one leg."*

Mr. Cooke, in a note to the last paragraph, observes:—"Faulkner soon found ample revenge in the dispensation of Providence, as in less than four years afterwards (in 1766) Foote broke his leg, in consequence of a fall from a horse, and thus realized that part of the joke in his own person."

And, a little later, we find an account of Foote producing a comedy, in 1770, called "The Lame Lover," the principal character, "Sir Luke Limp," partly intended as a piece of drollery on his own person.

A year had not elapsed after the outrage on Faulkner, the prosecution of Foote at his suit, and conviction of the defendant, when he brought out and performed at the Theatre Royal, in the Haymarket, a piece entitled, "The Trial of Samuel Foote for a Libel on Peter Paragraph.' The characters in it were "The Judge," by Mr. Lewis, sen.; "Counsellor Demur" (against Foote), Mr. Kennedy; "Counsellor Quirk," Mr. Foote. The dialogue of this piece is destitute of wit, humour, and vivacity. Any merit (and small is the amount) in the piece is to be found in a sort of ep ilogue, from which the following lines are quoted:—

> "At Athens, once fair queen of arms and arts,
> There dwelt a citizen of moderate parts;
> Precise his manner, and demure his looks,
> His mind unletter'd—though he dealt in books;

* Memoirs of Sam. Foote, in 3 vols., 12mo., Lon., 1805, page 121.

Amorous, though old; though dull, loved repartee;
And penn'd a paragraph most daintily.
He aim'd at purity in all he said,
And never once omitted *eth* or *ed*.
In *ha'h* and *doth* was never known to fail.
Himself the hero of each little tale;
With wits and lords this man was much delighted,
And once (it hath been said) was near being knighted.
One Aristophanes, a wicked wit,
Who never heeded grace in what he writ,
Had mark'd the manners of the Grecian sage,
And thinking him a subject for the stage,
Had from the lumber cull'd with curious care
His voice – his looks – his gestures, gait, and air—
His affectation, consequence, and mien,
And boldly launch'd him on the comic scene.
Loud peals of plaudits through the circle ran.
All felt the satire - for all knew the man.
Then Peter – Petros was his classic name,
Fearing the loss of dignity and fame,
To a grave lawyer in a hurry flies,
Opens his purse, and begs his best advice.
The fee secured, the lawyer strokes his hand—
'The case you put I fully understand.
The thing is plain from Cocos's last Reports,
The rules of poetry arn't rules of courts.
A libel this—I'll make the mummer know it.'"*

In estimating the value or justice of those satirical productions it is necessary to bear in mind that George Faulkner was the most extensive publisher of his day in Ireland, that many of his publishing undertakings were of great magnitude, far greater than that of any former works printed in Ireland; in fact, he was a benefactor to his country, and so was considered, both by Swift and Lord Chesterfield. He was, moreover, exceedingly charitable, a good citizen, generous and hospitable. Such was the man whom the wits of Dublin fastened on after Swift's death, and never ceased to pester and provoke for many years, with lampoons, with jibes and jeers, mock heroic poems, purporting to be written by him or to him.

* Memoirs of Samuel Foote, Vol. 3, p. 139.

The dominant Irish passion for ridicule is certainly a great failing, and very mischievous and despicable propensity. Our English newspapers are pleased to think the defects in the intellectual constitution of Irishmen are extremely numerous—so numerous and radical as to afford sufficient evidence of the Irish people being of an inferior race in all respects, morally and physically inferior to the Anglo-Saxon one. It has ever been, and to the end of time will always be, the policy of misrule to decry, discredit, defame, weaken, and thus to keep down its victims.

The Irish people, it cannot be denied, have vices incidental to the state of abject wretchedness and slavery in which they have been kept for upwards of six centuries, by English power, most terribly abused.

The vices of the Greeks, when they emerged out of Turkish bondage are the vices which English misrule, grinding rapacity, and penal law savagery created in Ireland. The partial abrogation of a Draconian code has left here unremoved the remnants of old rancours, old oppressions, and old opinions, old aspirations for power to oppress on one side, and old weapons of craft, and cunning, and duplicity to defeat the objects of their enemies on the other. But, strange to say, the worst defects in the Irish character are those which Englishmen discern least.

Those of the lower classes are the following: a tendency to servility, evasiveness, quibbling, and double dealing. Those of the middle and upper classes are a

passion for turning all subjects into ridicule, however grave they may be, for bantering, and making jibing not only a pastime, but an ordinary practice and policy to be pursued by humourous, droll, jocular people, given to burlesquing the sentiments of every person who appears to be in earnest in his opinions, and steadfast in his convictions.

But the greatest defect of all, in the Irish character, is want of toleration in matters of opinion, and an exorbitant vanity that influences conduct in grave circumstances affecting the greatest interests, and that leads men to keep back all others from promoting them, rather than not occupy the most prominent position themselves.

There is nothing but national independence and sound education to get rid of those defects that are the remnants, in fact, of the old results of misrule.

Of one of those tendencies which has been referred to in the concluding observation, something has been said in an epigram, which Irishmen who aspire to be teachers or leaders of their countrymen would do well to study, and to act on the advice which is given to them:—

EPIGRAM.

"Beware of men who banter, jibe, and jeer,
Deride the honest, earnest, and sincere.
Not by buffoons and ribald scribes, in sooth,
The cause is served of liberty and truth.
Scoffers have other purposes to serve,
From old opinions, faith, and friends, who swerve;
They only sneer at principles they swore
To die for once; who'd barter them—nay, more,
Who'd have the traitor's merchandize made known,
And on the market opportunely thrown.
Thus lawyers act, and hence they fare so well,
Who have a country and a cause to sell."

IERNE.

In 1770, George Faulkner was involved in paper warfare with some of his cotemporaries, and especially with a literary scribe and scribbling attorney, the author of a multitude of unsuccessful productions, in prose and verse, Gorges Edmund Howard; and with the editor of Hoey's Mercury. In 1771, both Howard and Faulkner were victimized in "The Mercury," in a clever, satirical production, entitled: "An Epistle to Gorges Edmund Howard, Esq., with notes explanatory, critical, and historical. By George Faulkner, Esq. and Alderman." This satire, impudently ascribed to Faulkner, was the production, chiefly, of one of the principal writers of "The Mercury," Robert Jephson, of whom some account will be found in the notice of "The Mercury."

Gorges Edmund Howard was not content with publishing some ponderous "Treatises of Law, Equity, and Revenue," he "obliged the world" with the publication of two octavo volumes of his productions, entitled: "The Miscellaneous Works, in verse and prose, of Gorges Edmund Howard." (Printed by Marchbank, in 1782.) The first volume is devoted to the so-called poems; the second, to apothegms and maxims, in prose; and a treatise at the end that redeems the volume—"Observations and queries on the present laws of this kingdom, relative to persons of the Popish religion."

This tract is very creditable to the enlightened views and principles of the writer of it.

Jephson and Courtney were the ablest of the lampooners of George Faulkner, and perhaps the most un-

principled of the gang of the scurrilous scribblers who assigned to themselves the task of ridiculing incessantly an industrious citizen, who took no very active part in politics or polemics, belonged to no faction, was engaged in an extensive trade that was highly useful, not only to his fellow citizens, but to his countrymen at large. Robert Jephson was a mercenary scribe of Lord Halifax's Irish Administration, in 1761 and 1762, and of Lord Townsend's, during the whole of his vice-royalty in Ireland, from 1767 to 1772; and a place hunter earlier even than the time of Lord Townsend's Administration. His talents were always employed against Irish interests, and the parties in parliament who supported them.

Jephson acknowledged his share in the authorship of the satirical production entitled, "An Epistle addressed to G. E. Howard, with notes by George Faulkner," in his work entitled "Roman Portraits," published in 1794.

Mr. Courtney, one of the concocters of this satire, being asked respecting the demand for it, replied, we are told, "Nothing in the memory of man ever sold like it!" Mr. Courtney ought, in modesty, to have added, "at least, in Dublin."

In 1772, Faulkner published an edition of Swift's works in twenty volumes, 8vo., the notes of which, chiefly written by himself, do little credit to his literary talents and attainments.

A little later we find a notice of the death of George Faulkner, in the "Hibernian Magazine," for September,

1775:—"August 30, at his house in Parliament Street, in the 76th year of his age, after a few days illness, George Faulkner, Esq., upwards of 50 years printer of the 'Dublin Journal,' and one of the aldermen of this city."

At the death of George Faulkner, his property, newspaper and bookselling establishment, in Parliament Street, corner of Essex Street, passed into the hands of his nephew, Thomas Todd Faulkner, whose death I find recorded in a newspaper of the time, as having occurred in April, 1793. I recently found a tombstone of large dimensions, with a long inscription, placed over the remains of George Faulkner, in an old place of burial in Kevin Street (now scandalously neglected), commonly called "The Cabbage Garden," a place of sepulture that might be more aptly designated the nettle garden, the custody and supposed care of which belonged, till lately, to the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick, but now has been transferred to the authorities of the parish of St. Nicholas Without.

George Faulkner ended his honourable career of public ability, industry, and enterprize, in Dublin, the 30th of August, 1775.

His fellow citizens testified the respect that was universally felt for him by a large and respectable attendance at his funeral.

The following is the inscription on the horizontal slab over the grave of Swift's friend:—

Here lieth the body of

GEORGE FAULKNER,

Alderman of the City of Dublin,

Who was a man of superior benevolence of mind and goodness of heart. He was esteemed by the Great, which honour he never sought; and by the Poor, who were the constant objects of his munificence.

His heart was ever open to the distressed, and his purse to the necessities of mankind. He was a sincere friend, and a real patriot; but of no party or faction his country being the first object of his attachment. In the exercise of every filial, conjugal, and social duty he was prominent. In fine, he earned the esteem of all the country—of none the hatred.

He departed from this life the 30th of August, 1775, in the 76th year of his age.

Here also is deposited the body of

MRS. MARY FAULKNER.

The 10th of June, 17(Illegible).

Possessed of every filial, conjugal, and Christian virtue.*

In the "Freeman's Journal," for October 1st, 1862, we find an obituary notice of the last lineal descendant of George Faulkner:—

"September 25, in Fitzgibbon Street, Miss Anna Faulkner, aged 83 years, the last lineal descendant of George T. Faulkner, the esteemed and faithful printer of

* Not far from the tomb of George Faulkner, one of his cotemporaries, of celebrity in his day, sleeps—Alderman John Enshaw, the proprietor and publisher of the edition of the "London Gentleman's Magazine," published in Ireland, commonly called "Enshaw's Magazine." There is a tomb inscribed to the memory of John Enshaw, who died in 1846, aged 74 years.

Here also the Venerable Father Austin, of the Order of the Society of Jesuits, is buried and had a pyramidal tomb erected to his memory, which exists no longer.

Here also John Keogh, the Nestor of the Roman Catholic committees, convention, and various associations, from 1792 to 1810, sleeps after his labours, but without so much as a stone over his grave, with his name inscribed on it.

Here also is buried the Irish Historian and Antiquarian, the Rev. Edward Ledwick, F.T.C.D., and Vicar of Aghaboe (and perhaps a better title than either) a friend of Edmund Burke. The monument over his remains was erected by himself to the memory of members of his family; it bears a very long and characteristic inscription, replete with antiquarian lore, bearing on the Norman origin of his family, and the derivation of their name, which might with more propriety have found a place in a volume of the proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. On the lower part of the tomb-stone, some friend of the learned doctor records, in laconic monumental language, the two important facts in his career, that he died the 8th of August, 1825, aged 84 years.

the 'Drapier's Letters,' and other writings of Doctor Jonathan Swift, Dean of Saint Patrick's."

The lady above referred to was possibly a niece, but most probably a grand niece, of George Faulkner, who died without issue, in 1775.

When George Faulkner died his journal had been in existence just half a century. Leading articles in "The Dublin Journal," at any period of G. Faulkner's connexion with it, and for many years subsequently to his decease are not to be found in Irish newspapers. Essays and articles, purporting to be communications from correspondents, or, in reality, letters from correspondents, are to be found in them. But it was not until 1806 that special articles on passing events of paramount interest and importance, having all the characteristics of genuine leading articles of our time, came into vogue, and habitual usage in each publication of a journal. The man who claimed the merit of that introduction of them, as a regular usage, was the late Frederick William Conway, the renowned editor of "The Dublin Evening Post."

Whosoever has had researches to make in Irish newspapers must have had abundant evidence afforded him of the singular fact, that not a single file of any Irish newspaper, published prior to the present century, nor a complete file of any newspaper of liberal politics, that has been established since the commencement of the present century, and down to 1820, is to be found, as far

as I can discover, in any public library in Dublin, or public institution, or literary society, or the office of any existing journal in the Irish metropolis, or in the provinces.

One of the scribes of "The Dublin Journal," and habitual guests and convivial friends of George Faulkner, was a clergyman of the Established Church, of a rollicking character, patronised by Lord Townsend, a court newspaper poet, who wrote squibs in prose and verse against the patriots of that time, and odes in praise of the viceroy, and all the virtues of his excellency—a small subject, even less than a broomstick—the Rev. Dr. Dunkin. He must have had some merits, for Swift obtained for him, not without difficulty, ordination, and preferment also. And very unlike the majority of Swift's friends, when the dean was dead this reverend gentleman, on several occasions, displayed the gratitude he owed to, and the veneration he felt for, his memory. A good notice of Dr. Dunkin's career will be found in the "Ireland Mirror," vol. 1, pages 233-245; and vol. 2, page 144.

We find a satirical poem, of a later period, written by the Rev. Dr. Dunkin, on George Faulkner, of some merit, in his published works, entitled:

EPISTLE TO ATTICUS.

As limping Vulcan brought the head
Of Jupiter of old to bed,
By timely dint of hatchet-blows,
Whence Pallas, Queen of wisdom, rose;
So F– lk– r, by the letter'd aid
Of trusty lead, supports the trade,
And, when the maggots of the brain,
Fermenting in poetic strain,

Contend to wing their insect-flight,
And rush on paper into light,
Delivers all the sons of Phœbus
Of songs, acrostics, puns, and rebus.

To him Astræa (though she shrouds
Her doubtful head among the clouds)
Her mysteries of state reveals,
And delegates her sword and scales:
Hence, like a pilot at the helm,
He steers the business of the realm,
Rewarding at his good discretion
Desert, or punishing transgression.

His court of justice through the year
Is ever open, as his ear,
And not like other courts in town,
Where clients dangle up and down.
On suits he never nods, nor hatches
Delays, but gives us his dispatches.
Attended by his daily guards
Of critics, politicians, bards,
And hawkers, yeomen of the tongue
For pamphlets to be said, or sung,
The monarch sits, and, from diurnal
Reports, compiles his potent journal:
Sublimely seated on his throne,
He makes his regal pleasure known.

The Stoics argue, that dominion
Is only founded in opinion,
And wise philosophers, although
So humble, that in outward show
To wealthy folks they bend the head,
And condescend to beg their bread,
Maintain their native freedom still,
And may be princes, when they will:
So F—lk—r, while in manner fervent
He is your servant's humble servant,
And deals to vagabonds his papers,
Is like the sun attracting vapours,
Which, through the vagrant clouds absorb
The distant lustre of his orb,
With genial heat revives our air,
And shines within his proper sphere.

Perhaps the Stoics have defin'd
An empty kingdom of the mind:
But F—lk—r is as great a Lord,
As any monarch on record,
Though he were Persian, or Egyptian,
And holds his title by prescription.

In prose and poetry he rules
Dictator to the distant schools;
The pendulum, that gives vibration
To humour, wit, and conversation;
The great recorder of the pen,
Among the various ranks of men,

From Bufo, who would fill the fobs
Of public knaves, for private jobbs,
To St—nh—pe, who the herd would ferret,
And only barter place for merit.
From Booby grave to merry Morgan :
And, as the bellows of an organ,
Like minister of state, beneath
Through all the pipes together breathe,
And correspond, like hand and glove,
To feed the various notes above :
So F—lk—r with a puff infuses
His inspiration through the muses,
And glads us from their high abodes
With sonnets, epigrams and odes.
The life of verse, as critics mention,
Consists in fiction or invention;
And surely neither Pope nor Swift
Can cope with F—lk—r in this gift. . .

The letters of James Arbuckle, which were published under the signature of "Hibernicus," in "The Dublin Journal," edited and printed by George Faulkner, in the years 1725-26 and 27, were separately published in two volumes, 8vo., London, 1729.

The number of these contributions to "The Dublin Journal" was 102. The first appeared in that journal April 3rd, 1725; the last, March 25th, 1827. They are all in the "Spectator" style, didactic essays on political principles and theories of government; on the minor morals, manners, the decencies of life; on happiness, virtue, &c., &c. Not one of them treated of any great national interest, of any passing event affecting the commerce, agriculture, prosperity, or progress of the country. They would have far better suited a magazine, literary miscellany, or collection of essays, than a newspaper. They were, however, the best of their kind, of their time, published in Ireland; each essay extended, on an average, to eight octavo pages.

There are several poetical pieces in these volumes,

interspersed with the prose articles, signed "Musophilus," but written by Arbuckle, of considerable merit.*

Of the memorabilia of "The Dublin Journal," during the first twenty years of its existence, from the date of its origin, in 1725, there was very little of interest for readers of the present time.

The following extracts are made chiefly from the volumes commencing with the year 1745.

The death of Ireland's earliest, best, and most able advocate is recorded by his friend in terms not very indicative of affliction or affection.

In Faulkner's "Dublin Journal" for October 22nd, 1745, the following scant obituary notice of the most illustrious man Ireland ever produced, Dean Swift, appeared:—

"Last Saturday, October the 19th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, died that great and eminent patriot, the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, in the 78th year of his age, who was born in the parish of St. Werburgh, Dublin, the 30th of November, 1667, at the house of his uncle, Councillor Godwen Swift, in Hoey's Court, which, in these times, was the general place of residence of the Chief Lawyers. His genius, works, learning, and charity are so universally admired that, to attempt delineating his character would be the highest presumption; yet, as the printer hereof is proud to acknowledge his infinite obligations to that

* Hibernicus. A collection of letters and essays on several subjects, lately published in the "The Dublin Journal," by "Hibernicus," (J. Arbuckle), 2. vols., 8vo., calf, neat, 4s. London, 1729

prodigy of wit, he can only lament that he is unequal to so vast a design. The Dean has bequeathed the bulk of his fortune—which is about £12,000—to build and endow an hospital for lunatics, idiots, and incurables, which said hospital is to be called St. Patrick's, and is to be erected near Stevens's. Dr. Sterne, late Bishop of Clogher, left £600 towards carrying on the said hospital; and William Coningham, Esq., £300."

In the same Journal for November the 12th, 1745, we find the following notice:—

"Many strangers as well as natives of this Kingdom, well-wishers to the glory of their country, are earnestly desirous that the ashes of the great Dr. Swift should not be undistinguished among the commended celebrities of our country, and therefore are desirous to erect a handsome monument over his grave in St. Patrick's Cathedral, in gratitude to his memory; for which purpose the printer hereof is willing to receive subscriptions."

Signed, GEORGE FAULKNER.

"Last Wednesday Edward Costelowe, and Mary his wife, and Mary Cane, who were found guilty of clipping, filing, and defacing of guineas and half-guineas, received sentence of death, to be executed on Saturday, the 14th instant, at Stephens Green; the man to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, and the women to be burned, their crimes being high treason Sarah Cane pleaded

pregnancy, and a jury of matrons having examined her, brought in their verdict that she was with child."

"Dublin Journal," July 7th, 1750.

"Last Wednesday Edward Costelowe, and Mary his wife, were executed at Stephens Green, for filing and diminishing guineas and half-guineas. The man was hung, drawn, and quartered; and the woman was burnt to ashes."

"Dublin Journal," July 14th, 1750.

"Yesterday morning (Oct. 21, 1751) died, after a tedious illness, Thomas Prior, Esq., one of the members of the Dublin society for the improvement of husbandry, and other useful arts, and secretary thereof. It can be truly said of him that he was a patriot for his country, having taken most extraordinary pains for the advancement of trade and manufactures in this kingdom, and never declined the most difficult task where the interest of the public was concerned. No man more ready to perform every good and charitable act than he was. No man more strict in his duty towards God, from whence followed his regard to man, in endeavouring to point out the only means of their true happiness in this world, by recommending industry for the welfare of their families, and consequently for the good of the community. How must we lament such a loss! A loss that every one must feel! As a patriot, if doing his country in general all the service in his power, and never grasping at

authority, or looking for a reward, be a virtue in these our days, lament the unhappy tidings. As a gentleman he lived elegant, but not profuse, always assisting the poor, and in their sickness supplied them with that most excellent remedy—tar water, without desiring any satisfaction but their relief! In his friendship he was sincere; and flattery was his aversion. To sum up his character, he had learning without pedantry, charity, benevolence, and every good quality without ostentation. Honour and integrity in every undertaking. Faithful to his prince, and a lover of his country. An example worthy of imitation; and as he was universally known and admired for his true spirit of patriotism, his death is as generally lamented."

"Dublin Journal," October 22nd, 1751.

"The death of Henry Barry, Esq., late Lord Santry, is confirmed, and his corpse is now lying at the water side, in order to be brought over and interred here with his ancestors. We hear that he hath bequeathed £300 a-year to his wife, whom he lately married at Nottingham, and the residue of his fortune to the Rt. Hon. Sir Compton Domville, Bart."

"Dublin Journal," April 2nd, 1751.

"The importation of corn and flour into this port only, according to the Custom House books, in six weeks amounted to 54,607 barrels, and at the lowest computation is rated at £47,435, which must cause a

drain of £400,000 annually for grain alone, which money, if properly applied to tillage in this kingdom, would find employment for at least 20,000 of our poor natives, who, if they could get it, would eat our own food, and consume our own manufactures. This want of agriculture is the chief cause of all our national calamities, for as the labourers have not to purchase cloaths, our wool is a drug, and the clothiers cannot employ their journeymen. These evils, it is hoped, will open the eyes of our landlords and graziers, and make them find employment for their tenants and cottiers. Is it not patriotism to wear and encourage the manufactures of this miserable country ? And is it less patriotism to eat our own bread, and to drink our own liquors ?"

"Dublin Journal," August 20th, 1754.

"It hath been hinted in our journal, that the great neglect of tillage in this nation would cause a scarcity of all grain and flour, and consequently a famine; the ill-effects whereof would bring on sickness and epidemical distempers, which have always prevailed in this and every other country, when the seasons have proved bad, or land sufficient hath not been ploughed, which is too frequently the case in this unhappy kingdom, so over-run with grazing, that the poor natives are not only driven into the service of France and Spain, but also into that of other Romish States, to the very great prejudice of England, as well as of Ireland; and what is shameful to

tell, the people of this fertile island and temperate climate would starve, were it not for the supply of corn and flour from the most distant regions, even from Africa and America, and the remotest parts of Europe, but, in particular, from England, which supplieth us in great quantities with all sorts of grain, flour, malt liquors, cyder, and other necessaries of life, all which might be raised and manufactured in Ireland, to as great perfection as in any other country, would the magistrates only exert themselves in putting the tillage laws into execution."

"Dublin Journal," December 11th, 1756.

"Died, in Rosemary Lane, Dr. John Clinch, many years parish priest of St. Michael's in this city, universally lamented for his great and good qualities, both in public and private life. He was a man of sound judgment and consummate prudence, a true friend to the poor, the real father of his flock, whom he was no less zealous to instruct by example than precept; and in his truly pathetic exhortations he never failed to enforce a peaceable and submissive behaviour to the Government."

"Dublin Journal," November 1st, 1757.

On the death of George Grierson, printer to the King's Majesty, of Essex Street, his widow, in December, 1759, removed to Castle Street, where she carried on the bookselling business, and the son of George

Grierson, Hugh Boulter Primrose Grierson, having been then appointed king's printer, continued the business of printing and bookselling at the old establishment of his father in Essex Street. See advertisement in the "Dublin Journal" for Dec. 11, 1759.

"I am confidently assured that the great plague at Athens, and that of London in 1625, were both preceded by a pestilence that raged amongst the horses to a most violent degree. May God avert the same dreadful consequence attending us at present in the midst of our sins."

"Dublin Journal," April 12th, 1760.

"Married, last Tuesday night, Nicholas Lawless, Esq., to Miss Margaret Brown, daughter of Valentine Brown, Esq., formerly a very eminent brewer. When such amiable dispositions and such ample fortunes unite, mutual happiness must bless the married state."

"Dublin Journal," October 17th, 1761.

The death of Richard Burke, Esq., one of the attornies of the Court of Exchequer, is recorded in "The Dublin Journal," for 28th Nov., 1761.

"Married.—Robert Emmet, Esq., of Corke, Doctor of Physick, and correspondent member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Montpelier, in France, to Miss Mason, of said city."

"Dublin Journal," November 22nd, 1760.

"There having been some fallacious account published in the 'London Chronicle,' and some of the Dublin papers, relative to the unhappy murder of Miss Knox, and much in favour of Mr. McNaughten, the following remarks thereon are taken from the 'Belfast News-Letter,' of Tuesday, Dec. 15, 1761, and reprinted here for the satisfaction of the public.

"'There is some truth, some mistakes, and some absolute falsehood in this account, especially in the article of the contract, but not a marriage—nor was the form of matrimony read over by any or either of them, but merely the contracting part, nor were there interchangeable duplicates signed. The lady often declared the contract on her part was conditional, *i.e.*, provided her father's consent could be obtained to ratify it. And we are creditably informed she repeated this declaration a little before she expired. The method of its being divulged is likewise false. It was the young lady herself first declared it to her uncle. Mr. Knox had many objections to Mr. McNaughten, beside his spirit of gaming, and this she told him when he made his proposals. All this may be depended on.'"

"Dublin Journal," December 19th, 1761.

"There was no small difficulty on the sheriff in getting the sentence passed on Mr. McNaughten executed, for there was not a man in Strabane to be found who would make the gallows, not a smith who would take off his bolts. The executioner, an old man, was brought

from Cavan. McNaughten's design was, as he called it, to have broke his own neck by a sudden jerk, for which purpose he went up to the top of the ladder, and taking the rope from the old hangman, put it about his own neck, then, letting himself fall suddenly, broke the rope. In the interval between breaking his own rope, and being accommodated with one from the neck of his own companion, he said that Lord Ferrers' observation was true, that there was more in the terrors of death than death itself. He was dressed in a very slovenly manner, and (for what reason it is not known) would wear no other coat than that in which he committed the murder. He told the sheriff that it was expected he should make a speech, but that he never intended it, and desired he would make that declaration in his name. He enquired of him whether it was ordered that his head should be put on the gaol? and seemed much comforted when the sheriff told him it was not. He sent for some of his prosecutors, and told them he forgave them, but it did not appear that he asked forgiveness of any."

"Dublin Journal," December 26th, 8761.

In "The Dublin Journal," for February 4th, 1758, the recent death in Grafton Street is recorded (on the 31st of January, 1758), of the Earl of Mornington (grandfather of the late Duke of Wellington), who was succeeded in title and estates by his only son, the Hon. Garret Wesley, (sic) representative for the borough of Trim. (The late Marquis Wellesley) "The deceased lord was a nobleman of the strictest honour, religion, and virtue."

The same journal, of the same date, announces the completion of the new Theatre Royal, of Crow Street.

In "The Dublin Journal" for February 7, 1758, an article appears, bearing the signature of George Faulkner, stating that, several years previously, Mr. Sheridan, the eminent tragedian, called public attention to the fact that nothing effective had been done towards erecting a monument in Dublin to the memory of Dean Swift, that great patriot and distinguished writer. It was ascertained that the sum required would be from £800 to £1000 sterling. To make a beginning Mr. Sheridan appropriated the entire receipts of a play of an attractive character at his theatre. That play produced £101 sterling. Mr. Sheridan then convened a public meeting of all persons who were considered likely to aid that undertaking, to appoint trustees, and to subscribe to the fund. After three weeks' advertising the notice of meeting in "The Dublin Journal," there met at Mr. Sheridan's apartments, on the Blind Quay, of all the admirers and friends of Dean Swift, only three individuals; these were George Faulkner, the Rev. Mr. Lyons, and a Mr. John Marshal. When they had waited three hours, they felt shocked that no one else had appeared to promote an object that ought to have been the most popular one in Ireland. It was necessarily agreed that the matter should stand over, at least, till the next season, when Mr. Sheridan would give another entertainment to promote that object. George Faulkner, at that meeting, promised to subscribe £50. Before the next season commenced, however, Mr. Sheri-

dan's theatrical property was destroyed with impunity by a mob of college rowdeis.

The project of erecting a monument in honour of Swift fell to the ground, and one instance more of the evanescence of Irish gratitude to the memories of departed patriots was furnished on that occasion. We have an instance of something worse in a recent proposal to allocate a fund of £10,000, subscribed for the express purpose of erecting a monument to the memory of O'Connell, to an object altogether different to the one for which the subscribers had been induced to give their money.

In George Faulkner's "Dublin Journal," of Nov. 6th, 1759, we find the death recorded of an Irish baronet, whose lineal descendant, to my knowledge, in July, 1865, was existing in a miserable back room in Cook Street, Dublin, with a large family, in absolute indigence and destitution.

The record of the baronet's death, above referred to, is in the following terms:—

"Deceased, on Thursday last (6th of November, 1759), in the 85th year of his age, at his seat, near Drogheda, Sir Henry O'Neil, an antient baronet of Great Britain. He was a gentleman greatly regarded by all that knew him, being of a gentle, humane, and affable disposition. This gentleman was in a lineal descent from the Prince of Ulster, when Henry the Second invaded Ireland, the particulars of which is re-

lated in a history, some years ago published, of the English baronets; also their alliance with several noble families of England and Ireland. He is now succeeded in the title by Sir Randal O'Neil, Bart., his eldest son, an officer in his Majesty's Revenue."

The death of the celebrated Mrs. Margaret Woffington is mentioned in "The Dublin Journal" for April 8th, 1760. She died on the 7th of April, at her residence in Queen's Square, Westminster.

The death of Mr. Ralph Elrington, comedian, at his lodgings in Temple Bar, is recorded in "The Dublin Journal," for January 27, 1761.

The death of John Adair, Esq., of Kilternan, of sporting celebrity in the county of Dublin, in the middle of the last century, is recorded in "The Dublin Journal" for December 9th, 1760.

In "The Dublin Journal" for February 26th, 1760, the landing of a French force, under Thurot, in the Bay of Carrickfergus, and seizure of the castle of Carrickfergus, is reported:—

"They had landed 1,000 men and upwards, who immediately attacked the castle, which, from the disordered and defenceless condition of the garrison, was obliged, after a resolute resistance and consumption of their artillery, to surrender prisoners of war. Lieut.-Colonel Jennings and Captain Lord Wallenford, of Stroud's

Regiment, and about 160 privates, are now in their hands. On the reduction of the garrison, a French officer, with a flag of truce, was despatched to Belfast (eight miles distant from Carrickfergus) demanding 50 hogsheads of claret, 30 pipes of brandy, 25 tons of bread, two tons of onions, and declaring that if the demand was not immediately complied with, they would first lay Carrickfergus in ashes, and then proceed directly to Belfast. The principal inhabitants of Belfast agreed to those propositions, and furnished most of the materials as fast as they could."

THE ORIGIN OF THE VOLUNTEERS OF '82.

In George Faulkner's "Dublin Journal," for March 11th, 1760, we find the following letter addressed to the editor, dated from Belfast, March 5th, 1760.

"Mr. Faulkner,—

"The spirit and loyalty shewn by all people in the North of Ireland, on the late landing of Mons. Thurot, near Carrickfergus, is not to be equalled in any history. I, as an inhabitant of this place, must beg leave to return them my most sincere and hearty thanks by your useful paper. Before we could imagine the news had time to spread, this town was filled with militia of the counties of Antrim, Down, and Armagh, who, with true Irish courage and loyalty, rushed in to oppose the bold invaders. In two days we had upwards of 2,000 clever fellows, well armed, and longing to be

led on to attack the enemy. To their speedy assistance, under God, is our safety owing; for the enemy were soon convinced how dangerous an enterprize it would be to attack a place that was dear to them. I should not do justice to merit if I did not pay that respect to the volunteer company of Antrim, which they commanded from every person who saw them. They marched in here on Friday, upwards of ninety-nine men, and were not so remarkable for their uniform clothing as for their good order and strict discipline, inasmuch that very few, if any, of the regular troops could outdo them. The gentleman is well known to whom they are indebted for their knowledge; and ought not he to be amply rewarded for the care and pains he has bestowed upon them? I think a company would be but a very moderate recompense. Sure no objection can be made on account of his not having been in his Majesty's immediate service, for he has as effectually served his king and country as those who were constantly paid for it; I think it rather adds to the merit. If he be properly rewarded, which I make no doubt of, it may encourage other gentlemen of spirit to have the militia well disciplined, a thing of the greatest consequence, should an attempt of the like kind be again made by our enemies.

"I am, Sir,

"Your constant reader,

"F. M."

In "The Dublin Journal" for October 3rd, 1761, the coronation of H.B.M. George the Third is described in detail.

In the lists of "commencements," promotionary examinations, degrees, &c., of T. C. Dublin University, we find in "The Dublin Journal" for July 21st, 1761, the following:—"Gabriel Stokes, Doctor of Law. John Swift Dryden, Bachelor of Law. This meritorious gentleman had been blind many years previously to his being made LL.D. Charles Lucas, Doctor of Physic."

In Faulkner's "Dublin Journal," for December 5th, 1761, the following extract appears from a Cork paper:—

"Cork, November 30th.—Thursday last Henry Sheares of this city, Esq., was unanimously elected Member of Parliament for the Borough of Cloghnakilty."

The death of Maurice O'Connell, Esq., M.D., in the North Abbey, Corke, we find recorded in Faulkner's "Dublin Journal," April 16th, 1763.

In "The Dublin Journal" for January 9th, 1762, the death of one of the earliest publishers of Irish magazines is recorded, the Rev. Auguste de Voeux, minister of the French church at Waterford. Mr. de Voeux died in

that city some days previous to the date above mentioned.

In the same journal for March 6th, 1762, the marriage is recorded of a member of the family of the Thomas Reynolds, of undying infamy:—Miss Agnes Reynolds, daughter of Mr. Thomas Reynolds, of Ash Street, Dublin, February 28th, 1762, to Mr. Nicholas Walsh, an eminent mercer, of Francis Street. "The young lady was endowed," according to George Faulkner, "with a considerable fortune, and many amiable qualities, and much agreeableness of person."

From the commencement of "The Dublin Journal" to the beginning of January, 1762, there are few articles that would be worth summarizing in a work of this kind. The best of the few that are readable is one published in "The Dublin Journal" for January 9th, 1762. It is headed

"ON THE ANCIENT AND PRESENT CONSTITUTION OF ENGLAND.

"'Until the reformation,' says Walsingham, 'the bishops and mitred abbots, on numerous occasions, constituted the majority in the House, and so long as the Crown was indulgent to the Church, the king never wanted fit instruments to enslave the people.'

"Of this there are flagrant instruments on the rolls, the Commons complaining that bills which had passed

the Lords had been sent down to the sheriffs, under the great seal, to be proclaimed as Acts of Parliament in the several counties. And they often declared that such acts will not be ratified by the bishops; but, nevertheless, they remained bound by these acts of fraud, tyranny, and brazen impudence committed in those times of despotism.

"The temporal barons, for many reigns after the Norman Conquest, had no certain right of being summoned, but depended on the grace of the Crown. The House of Lords, in these times, was not a free assembly, but a creature of the Crown.

"So much for the House of Lords, now for the House of Commons of Ireland.

"This House was certainly not free. It was anciently returned from Irish counties, cities, or boroughs as the Crown had qualified by its charters to elect representatives. This power of creating Parliament boroughs was exercised without control or limitation, even till the reign of James I. And that the reader may know the difference between the antient and present constitution, I will exhibit to his eyes the change which the House of Commons suffered in every reign, from Henry VIII. till the time of Charles I., when means were found to fence it by law from such violations of its liberty, since the king, 'till that time, exercised a power to create as many new members in every Parliament as he had occasion for, and could never want a majority, whilst it was in his choice to appoint

the places which should return members. Henry VIII. found at his accession 147 places, returning 296 members.

He added	...	32 to	28
Edward VI. added	...	22 ..	24
Mary	...	12 ...	22
Elizabeth	...	21 ...	62
James I.	...	14 ...	27

So that the members increased by the power of the Crown in five reigns, including 116 years, were in number ..	173	
Since which time the members increased by authority of Parliament were, at the time of the union, including a period of 83 years	44	217
Members at the time of the union (Scotch) ...		... 513
Members increased by the act of union ...		... 45
		558

"The House of Commons then, constantly packed as it was by the power of the Crown, increased in the manner above mentioned, was certainly not a free legislative assembly.

"James the First was perfectly aware that it was not. Algernon Sidney has left on record that memorable saying of his Majesty, 'As long as he had the power of making judges and bishops, that should be both law and gospel which best pleased him.'" . . .

The writer goes on to shew, the constitution of England, in two succeeding reigns of Charles the First, with its Star Chamber and Court of Wards, was no constitutional guarantee for liberty at all. And then he labours hard to prove that since the Revolution of 1688, the British constitution has no spot or blemish, is devoid of all sophistry, incapable of all corruption, has no seeds

of decay in it, and will last as long as Protestantism shall endure. Perhaps it may, and even longer.

Close to the tomb, pompously inscribed in Kilbarack churchyard, of a man of infamous notoriety for his vices and his crimes—Francis Higgins, the editor and proprietor of "The Freeman's Journal," the sham squire, the trafficker in blood, the recipient of the thousand pounds secret service money for the betrayal of Lord Edward Fitzgerald—the remains are deposited of a faithful servant of God, a venerated priest of the diocese of Dublin, the Reverend Dr. John Sweetman, whose name, calling, and time of decease are simply recorded on a plain head-stone over his humble grave.

He must have been a man of no common virtues, and those, too, of an heroic character, Roman Catholic priest as he was, of a proscribed creed, in the good old times of the penal law regime, when his merits are recorded in such terms as the following, which will be found in the obituary notice of this gentleman, in Faulkner's "Dublin Journal" for November 30th, 1762:—

"In Thomas Street, universally lamented, the Rev. Doctor John Sweetman, clergyman of the Church of Rome. He was indefatigable in the exercise of his priestly functions, and almost continually employed visiting the sick, particularly the poor, to whose service he in a special manner devoted himself. He let pass no opportunity of inculcating the principles of religion, piety, and morality, of which his life was a constant and uniform model.

"While conversing familiarly with his friends he could find means, without the slightest affectation of professional aims or intentions, to give even the least interesting subjects of discourse an edifying turn. Notwithstanding the bent of his mind was to religion and religious interests, and as it were naturally so, his conversation was desired and relished even by the most thoughtless and dissipated persons. He was remarkably entertaining in society, and even facetious, and possessed an innocent gaiety of heart that was the sure testimony of a good conscience."

In "The Dublin Journal" for September 24th, 1768, a grand jury proclamation, of the city of Dublin, of date 16th September, 1768, sets forth

"That a most wicked and illegal practice hath for some time prevailed, of stealing, secreting, and carrying away to his Majesty's plantations in America, certain young children, without consent of their parents, which practice is commonly known by the name of kidnapping."

The proclamation further declares,

"That persons of adult years are frequently enticed and inveigled on board ships, and there privately inducted and carried away, not only contrary to law, but to the consent of the parties. . ."

In "The Dublin Journal" for 7th November, 1769, we find a decree of the Court of Exchequer, for the sale of lands of Killowen and Cloonmore, in the King's Co.,

Edmond Burke, Esq., sole executor of Garret Burke, gent., deceased, who was to be executor of Richard Burke, gent., deceased, plaintiff, Sir Duke Giffard William Burke, administrator of John Burke, deceased, the executors of Jeoffry French, deceased, and others, defendants.

In "The Dublin Journal" for 2nd December, 1769, we find an obituary notice of Mrs. Christian Burke, relict of Edmund Burke, at Clonlee, Co. Galway, aged 80.

In the same journal for 2nd December, 1769, we find the marriage recorded of James Hoey, Esq., junior, bookseller in Parliament Street, to Miss Jane Denn, daughter of the late John Denn, of Saggert, Esq.

In "The Dublin Journal" for December 2nd, 1769, we find some "Queries for the consideration of the public," which might be addressed to the Irish public, in the year of grace 1867:

Qy.—"Is it not worth while to take the state of the paper manufacture of this kingdom into consideration?

"Can there be a sufficient quantity made here for the consumption of the kingdom?

"Are there not some cases where the paper manufacture in this kingdom cannot be used in printing?

"What has been the consequence of the duty formerly laid on foreign paper? And should a duty be

ever laid on any manufacture, until there is sufficient in quantity and quality of such a manufacture for the consumption thereof? May it not destroy the very manufacture it was meant to serve?

"Is there not a sort of paper much used by the printers of this kingdom, for the manufacture of which there are not near sufficient materials in the kingdom? May it not be proper to examine some of the principal printers and stationers upon this important occasion?"

In 1768, a vast improvement, in several respects, had taken place in "The Dublin Journal." The size had been increased to 18 inches by 12. It was published thrice weekly. The Irish intelligence was doubled in extent, but not much improved in quality.

"Limerick, September 19th.—Last Saturday, John Corcoaran was executed at Gallows Green, pursuant to his sentence. He acknowledged his guilt and died very penitent. He was only 13 years of age, and had been guilty of several robberies."

The English pale administration of justice in Ireland was a fine comment on the mode adopted of "introducing English civility into Ireland." The hanging of a boy of 13 years of age, no doubt, had a happy effect on Irish life and manners.

Then follows a long list of accidents, executions, sudden deaths, robberies, and an edifying account of one conversion from the errors of the Church of Rome to the truths of the Protestant religion.

In the advertisements of the same number we find a tutor sought for, by Mr. Cullimore, of Wexford, "who is an undoubted Protestant, can read and write, is sober and honest, and understands arithmetic and Latin."

"The Dublin Journal," during the whole period of its existence, in the hands of George Faulkner, was, with few exceptions, the dullest, most spiritless, least political, polemical, literary, instructive, or entertaining of the Dublin papers.

From its commencement, in 1725, to the period of Faulkner's death, in 1775, this character belonged to it.

After it had been in being half a century there certainly was some improvement in it. About 1775 the first symptoms of amelioration were observable in it. To go through volumes of this journal, from the earliest to the latest, as I have done, wading through the columns of dreary twaddle, and even that matter not original, through day after day's publication for a long series of years, is as wearisome a task as any literary man might desire to perform.

The second phase in the career of "The Dublin Journal," occurred in the year 1775, when, on the death of Alderman George Faulkner, his nephew, Mr. Thomas Todd Faulkner, became proprietor, printer, and publisher. By this gentleman "The Dublin Journal" was conducted respectably for eighteen years. When he died in April, 1793, the paper continued to be printed and published at No. 15, Parliament Street, the house of George Faulkner.

In 1789 "The Dublin Journal," of the 6th of January, had increased its size and price considerably. Its length was then 19½ inches, its breadth 12 inches, its columns 12, its price 2d. George Faulkner had been then fourteen years gathered to his fathers. It was published, and had been from September, 1775, by Thomas Todd Faulkner, of No. 15, Parliament Street. There were then no leading articles in "The Dublin Journal;" there were occasional letters to the printer that supplied the place of them. One of these letters in this paper of the 6th of January, 1789, contains some remarkable observations:—

"While some are running riot in praise of Mr. Fox, and others as strenuously supporting the cause of Mr. Pitt, it is a matter of difficulty for a moderate man to lay his sentiments before the public on the state of affairs of the country, if he does not profess a blind devotion to one or other of those leaders of an English faction.

"First, then, sir, I desire to assert that Ireland has nothing whatever to do with English parties. For an hundred years we laboured under the most cruel oppression; 'tis true, Mr. Pitt was not then in political existence. But, after the brave and virtuous citizens of Ireland had roused themselves to arms, and secured their freedom, Mr. Fox was the very last man who acceded to the principles of Irish liberty, and even then with a reservation of England's retaining a power of legislating for us externally."

The non-consumption volunteer resolution, of 1782, of English manufactures, was acted on to some extent so late as July, 1784, we find, by the following affidavit of a woollen draper and silk mercer, published in "The Dublin Journal:"—

"County of the city of Dublin, to wit. } JANE PLOWMAN, of the city of Dublin, woollen-draper, came before me this day, and made oath, on the holy evangelists, that she will not sell, or permit to be sold, in her shop, or elsewhere, on her account, any goods whatsoever, under the denomination of Irish, that are not of the real manufacture of this kingdom. Also, that she will not import, or cause to be imported, any goods of woollen, cotton, silk, &c., of the manufacture of Great Britain, for twelve months from this date, unless protecting duties take place.

"Sworn before me, this 13th day July, 1784.

"Jane Plowman. "T. GREENE."

In this journal, in the early part of 1789 we find an advertisement of the worsted manufacturers of the Liberty, worthy of notice:—

"TO THE PUBLIC.

"The working worsted-weavers of the city of Dublin, after most respectfully requesting the nobility, gentry, and the public's acceptance of their grateful acknowledgments, for the generous patronage they have experienced, beg to assure every person who would wish to

see the interests of Ireland essentially cultivated in the extension and improvement of their manufacture, that the utmost application and ingenuity shall be exerted to furnish their countrymen with fabrics of the best texture and most elegant fancy; and they flatter themselves that they will evince to the world how ill grounded the opinion has been, which persons of a certain description were industrious to propagate, that Irish artists were inferior to those of other nations; for they are bold to affirm that the productions of their looms will be found equal, if not superior, to any foreign fabrics whatsoever.

"They are, however, exceedingly sorry that on this occasion, the importance of the subject, as well to the national prosperity in general, as to their own welfare in particular, will not suffer them to suppress a disagreeable truth, respecting some practices of the greatest injury to the credit of their manufacture:—And in this exposition of facts they solemnly disavow all prejudice against any individual or set of men among their employers, either in this city, or the kingdom at large:—But the fact exists, and it is indispensably necessary that they should declare it.

"There are certain Master Manufacturers in this city, who, for purposes of sordid self-interest, use such fraudulent materials in their goods, as render them so very unserviceable to the consumers, that there is every reason to apprehend that the purchasers, after a first trial, will scarcely buy a second time; and it is needless to remark, to a discerning public, how materially this must injure

the manufacture in a foreign market; or what a gross abuse must be thereby imposed upon that generally prevailing spirit of Irish patriotism, to which we owe our present non-importation agreement—an agreement calculated to improve our manufactures, extend our commerce, revive the declining spirit of skill and industry, and preserve the desponding artist, and his distressed family, from all the dreaded horrors of pinching penury.

"Should the working worsted-weavers, therefore, remain longer silent, with regard to this injurious imposition on their generous patrons, they would be justly chargeable with the blackest ingratitude; and they respectfully conceive, that the candid public will give them full credit for the rectitude of their intentions in this particular, when they are informed, that the fraudulent material is much easier for them to weave, than the honest and proper material; yet they are ready and willing to use every additional exertion in working upon the latter; fully convinced that the establishment of commercial connections in their line, by obtaining a decided preference at foreign markets, will amply reward all their labour and industry.

"There is also another species of fraud (the master manufacturers must pardon the harshness of the term) equally injurious to the narrow worsted manufacture of Dublin;—which is the practice of buying up goods made of the above-mentioned fradulent materials, at Bandon, and bringing them to this city;—these goods get but a

very imperfect pressing and finishing, after they come out of the loom at Bandon; but when they arrive here they are again consigned over to the finisher's hands, who is enjoined to use his best endeavours for giving them such an outward appearance as shall deceive the eye;—and under colour of this description, they are imposed upon the purchasers for Dublin manufacture, though they are at the least 2d. per yard worse in quality, than the honestly manufactured goods of this city.

"The working worsted weavers would wish, on this interesting occasion, to proceed with all possible delicacy; they do, therefore, for the present, decline mentioning names at full length—till they see what effect this well-meant intimation may produce, towards stopping the destructive practices alluded to:—But they must, with an honest, unreserved freedom, in this manner, convey their determined resolution, to Messrs. J—— A———, T—— F———, and R—— M'G———, that, unless these practices be immediately relinquished, and the working worsted weavers of Dublin properly satisfied that they shall not, in future, be repeated—the blanks, affixed to the above initials, will be filled up with the corresponding letters, which will expose their names to the just animadversion of their injured country.

"The WORKING WORSTED WEAVERS."

In the same paper as the preceding address is published in, we find an account of an extraordinary exploit

of a very eccentric member of an eccentric family, Mr. Whaley, commonly called Buck Whaley, brother-in-law of Counsellor John Fitzgibbon, the future Lord Chancellor Clare. Mr. Whaley, it is stated, for a wager of £20,000 sterling, undertook to perform a sporting pilgrimage to Jerusalem and back to Dublin, within the space of four months.*

In another paragraph the public is informed:—

"This day, if the wind had permitted, Mr. Whaley would have embarked for England, in order to commence his journey to the city of Jerusalem, on some circumstances of which bets to a large amount are depending.

"The peregrination of the above gentleman to the Holy Land, is neither a pilgrimage nor a crusade, but a trading voyage, in which he carries with him a full cargo of health, and the spirit of enterprise, to barter with the loose cash of the lazy lubbers who lounge at home.—To soften the solitudes of the Syrian deserts this traveller takes, *en crouppe*, a fair companion."

Buck Whaley married the sister of Valentine Lord Cloncurry, in July, 1800. He died in England the 2nd November, the same year.

In the number of "The Dublin Journal," for the 6th January, 1789, we find an advertisement of the sale of the interest in the lease of the Theatre Royal, of Smock

* If Buck Whaley were permitted to visit this sublunary world once more, and was governed still by the ruling passion of life—wagering to accomplish extraordinary performances—he might now safely wager to go to Jerusalem and return in less than ten weeks.

Alley, subject to the rent of £60 a year, the property of Richard Daly, Esq., of No. 10, Harcourt Street.

In the same journal for February 3, 1789, we find an account of the freedom of the city being presented by the guild of merchants to A. H. Rowan, Esq., "in testimony of their entire approbation of his conduct in defending innocence and virtue in the person of Mary Neal, the victim of a foul conspiracy on the part of a celebrated military character" (Lord Carhampton).

From the early part of 1789, the health of Mr. Thomas Todd Faulkner had been declining, and there is evidence in the tone and management of the paper that some new element had been introduced into it.

The price of the paper was increased, in 1789, to 2d. It was published thrice weekly.

The arrangement, printing, and character of the Irish intelligence were improved. There was an evident careful avoidance of Irish politics and polemics. In the number for January 6, 1789, we find a column and a half of the paper, and from that time seldom less and sometimes more, occupied with government proclamations. The inference to be drawn from that fact is that the journal so favoured was secured by government—was, in fact, considered to be in its pay, and was bound to support its policy and party for the time being.

For many years after George Faulkner's death, "The Dublin Journal" was still described as printed by him,

and long, too, after it came into the hands of Giffard, in 1793-4-5, and 96.

When Thomas Todd Faulkner, the nephew of George Faulkner, died in April, 1793, the same calamity befell "The Dublin Journal" that happened a few years earlier to "The Freeman's Journal"—it fell into hands that dishonoured it. So that at the same period, and for a number of years, two of the most independent and respectable papers in Ireland became the property of two political adventurers, who traded in rampant bigotry, and for their own sordid purposes used the journals they had purchased, and sold the use of them to the Castle and Orangemen of Ireland, in whose views and for whose objects the Irish government was then administered.

In an evil hour, the journal that George Faulkner founded, John Giffard became the proprietor of, in 1793. The subsequent proprietorship of the disgraced, or in the Italian sense of the term, *disgraziata*, "Dublin Journal," will be noticed hereafter.

From 1800 to the end of the viceroyalty of the Marquis Cornwallis, it continued to be the especially favoured organ of the government, the champion of the Orange Institution, of the corporation of Dublin, of the system of terror that became the regime of the Irish government in 1798, the advocate of everything that was vile, venal, and infamous in any institution or policy that had a being, and could be fairly considered hostile to Ireland and its people.

The 12th March, 1796, George Faulkner is still represented as the printer and publisher of "The Dublin Journal," at 15, Parliament Street. Mr. John Giffard, however, was the proprietor of that journal and had been since April, 1793, the period of the death of T. T. Faulkner.

Previously to 1798, I have not been able to discover, in the registry of securities of newspapers, any record of those of "The Dublin Journal," from the time it came into the hands of Mr. Giffard.

We find by the Registry of Securities of Irish newspapers, that in December, 1798, John Giffard was proprietor and publisher of "The Dublin Journal," represented by Maria Park, and the sureties to the bond of that mysterious female for £300—John Swift Emmerson, Esq., and Ambrose Harding Giffard, Esq.

The former was an attorney who was in the blood money line of business; sold the setting of the rebel General Thomas Russell, to Major Sirr, and afterwards quarrelled with the major about the reward in that case. The last named gentleman was the eldest son of the proprietor, a barrister, who became, subsequently, Chief Justice of Ceylon.

The "Dublin Journal," in January, 1799 (and long previously to that date), was printed for the proprietor (John Giffard), by W. F. Hodges, No. 15, Parliament Street. The price was then 4d., four pages of four columns each. It is hardly necessary to say the rebellion was then over, all its chiefs hanged, incarcerated, or expatriated.

But from the beginning of 1799 to the end of that year, there are few numbers of "The Dublin Journal" in which that sanguinary, vindictive man, who owned and edited "The Dublin Journal," John Giffard, did not exult in the capital punishment, or the torturing of some unfortunate man, who had escaped the horrors of the reign of terror of 1798, only to encounter those of the reign of cold blooded vengeance of 1799.

The gallant Major Sirr's appointment to the office of Town Major of the garrison of Dublin, vice Nicholls, resigned; and that of William Bellingham Swan, Esq., to the office of Assistant Town Major, vice H. C. Sirr, Esq., promoted, is published in "The Dublin Journal," for June 11, 1799.

So virtue and valour sometimes have their reward, even in this world.

In the same journal, July 6, 1799, we are informed the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Lord Clare, had obtained a verdict of £1,000 against "The Courier of London," for a series of libels on his lordship.

A little later we find in "The Dublin Journal" an obituary notice, showing that a greater power even than the Lord Chancellor of Ireland had gained a decisive victory over Lord Clare, his lordship having died the 28th of January, 1802, and survived his victory over his country's independence one year and ten months.

It is said to be peculiarly characteristic of Protestant ascendency power, not to rest satisfied with overcoming its opponents. It is considered essential to its glory that its adversaries should be blackguarded as well as beaten.

John Giffard, the proprietor of "The Dublin Journal," was particularly happy in carrying this policy into effect against his enemies, and those of the government he served

In "The Dublin Journal" for January 27, 1814, still bearing on the title, the prefix "George Faulkner, printed by George Hodges, at 15, Parliament Street" (the unworthy successor of that respectable publisher and proprietor then being Mr. John Giffard), a choice specimen is to be found of the editorial amenity and urbanity of that fiercely loyal and Ultra Orange Protestant Ascendency Animal—"The Dog in Office":—

"NAPOLEON

"The First and Last—By The Wrath of Heaven Emperor of The Jacobins—Protector of The Confederation of Rogues—Mediator of The Hellish League—Grand Cross of the Legion of Horror—Commander-in-Chief of The Legion of Skeletons Left at Moscow, Smolensko, Leipsig, &c., &c., &c.—Head Runner Away—Mock High Priest of The Sanhedrim—Mock Prophet of Mussulmen—Mock Pillar of The Christian Faith—Inventor of The Syrian Method of Disposing of His own Sick, By Sleeping Draughts, or Captured Enemies By The Bayonet—First Grave Digger for Burying Alive—Chief Jailer of the Holy Father."

Giffard tells his readers this portrait of the destroyer is faithfully copied from a German print.

But he is too modest: the merit of the composition must belong to him, and this is the kind of merit on which the British Government in Ireland lavished its richest rewards for a long series of years. He continues:

"Ensnarer and Imprisoner of The King of Spain—Destroyer of Thrones and Altars—Manufacturer of Counts, Dukes, Princes, and Kings—Chief *Douanier* of The Continental System—Head Butcher of The Parisian and Toulonese Massacres—Murderer of Hofer, Palm, Wright, nay, even of his own Prince, The Noble And Virtuous Duke of Engheim—Assassin of a Thousand Others—Kidnapper of Ambassadors—High Admiral of Invasion Prams—Cup Bearer of the Jaffa Poison—Arch Chancellor of Waste Paper Treaties—Arch Treasurer of The Plunder of The World—The Sanguinary Assassin And Incendiary

"To Make Peace With!!!"

"Happy Dog!" Thrice fortunate Jack Giffard! Most felicitous of scurrilous phraseologists! how must thy poetical imagination have exulted in this outpouring of the riches of its treasury of thoughts that breathe of brimstone fumes, and words that burn with all the fire of a divine *canis triceps* fury!

But all this outburst of the latter, in dealing with the titles of the vile Corsican, is nothing in comparison with the torrent of poetical ferocity which rushes from Giffard's soul, when he indulges

his fancies in "a hieroglyphic portrait of the *destroyer*." "His hat represents a discomfited French Eagle maimed and crouching, after his conflict with the eagles of the north. His visage is composed of the carcases of the victims of his folly and ambition, who perished on the plains of Russia and Saxony. His epaulette is a hand leading the Rhenish Confederation under the flimsy symbol of a cabinet. The spider is an emblem of the vigilance of the allies, who have inflicted on that hand a deadly blow."

The name of the admirable translator of Faust first appears in print in "The Dublin Journal" for January 9, 1818, in a report of "Commencements," in Trinity College (Dublin) University, when "Sir Anster and Mr. Carpenter recited verses on the lamented death of the Princess Charlotte.—A premium of 20 guineas has been awarded by the Provost and Senior Fellows to Sir Anster, and 10 guineas to Kennedy 3tius for English Verse. A premium of 20 guineas to Hussey 3tius and one of 10 guineas to Cole for Greek verses; 10 guineas to Carpenter, and 5 guineas to Parkinson, for Latin verses, all on the death of the Princess Charlotte."

The death of a very remarkable man, one of the earliest and ablest Irish Reformers, Thomas Todd Jones, Esq., of Rostrevor, is recorded in "The Dublin Journal," for February 27, 1818.

This gentleman possessed considerable literary abilities, classic knowledge, and general information. He

had represented Lisburn, his native town, in Parliament. A member of the Established Church, but of a tolerant spirit and enlightened mind, in the worst time of Protestant Ascendancy, tyranny, and persecution, he advocated strenuously and eloquently the claims of the Roman Catholics. He published numerous pamphlets on this question, and on other questions connected with the material and political interests of the country. His advocacy of the Catholic question preceded the efforts for it of Grattan, Curran, and Hutchinson. He probably rendered more services to it than any of his contemporaries.

The Obituary notice in "The Dublin Journal" for February 27, 1818, is in the following terms:—

"William Todd Jones, Esq.

"Died, on Tuesday, the 17th inst., W. T. Jones, of Rostrevor, Esq., formerly M.P. for Lisburn, his native town. This respected gentleman had, on the preceding Sunday, dined with Mr. Martin of Kilbrony. In the evening he had just stept into his carriage, accompanied by Dr. John Bingham and a young clergyman, to return to Rostrevor. Unhappily the horses suddenly took fright ran off, and overturned the carriage. In the fall Mr. Jones received a severe contusion, which was soon succeeded by a profuse hemorrhage from the nostrils. Every remedy which medical skill could suggest was applied, but in vain.

"Mr. Jones was a man of considerable literary attain-

ments. His taste was pure, his mind stored with classic knowledge and general information. With the history of his native country, its general and local advantages, its injuries and its wants, he was minutely acquainted. He was an incorrigible patriot, a true and undaunted friend to genuine liberty, and a steady advocate of the people's rights. His style, as a political writer, was argumentative and perspicuous. In advocating the claims of the Roman Catholics for unqualified emancipation, he was persevering and energetic. He deemed those claims to be founded in justice, and, therefore, gave them his warmest support. On this great national question his publications attracted general notice, and his arguments produced great effect, at a period when the Catholics had but few parliamentary and literary friends, who openly and zealously espoused their cause. They, of course, were conscious of his zeal, they felt the utility of his labours, and they publicly returned him their grateful thanks. He was, indeed, their first—perhaps their most zealous—advocate; for his labours preceded and ushered in those of Grattan, Hutchinson, and Curran. The path of liberality which he pointed out, and in which he boldly led the way, will finally terminate in Catholic emancipation and religious liberty.

"Mr. Jones, in conversation, was affable, entertaining, and instructive. He possessed an inexhaustible fund of anecdote, a memory enriched with literary treasure, a brilliant and playful fancy, a sound judgment and a rapid flow of words. His actions were in strict accord-

ance with the purity of his principles, and the benevolence of his heart."

In the obituary notices of "The Dublin Journal," for April 8, 1818, we find recorded the death of the mendacious historian of the different Irish Rebellions, Sir Richard Musgrave, Baronet, collector of excise for Dublin; and the marriage of James O'Connell, of Darrinane, Esq. (brother of Daniel O'Connell), to Jane, daughter of the late O'Donoghue, of The Glens.

In "The Dublin Journal," for June 10, 1818, there is a report of a banquet given to Thomas Moore, Esq., on the occasion of his visit to his native city, after a residence of many years in England and in France. About 220 persons, amongst whom were Lord Charlemont, Lord Cloncurry, Lord Allen, Sir Capel Molyneux, Sir C. Morgan, Mr. Burrowes, Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Shiel, the Revd. Mr. McCurin, Mr. Corry, Mr. Plunkett, junr., W. H. Curran, &c., sat down to dinner, at Morrison's Hotel, the Earl of Charlemont in the chair. After Moore's health had been drank with great applause, and duly responded to, Moore proposed the health of the Earl of Charlemont (the late earl, who died in the year 1864).

The Chairman, Lord Charlemont, said—"He felt the honour done to him with pride, as an Irishman . . . Born and educated on the purest principles of patriotism, principles which had been instilled into his mind with unremitting care, by his late revered parent, the love of

Ireland was the first wish of his heart, one of the first precepts he had learned, and the last he would forget. He was easily taught to believe that the affairs of Ireland, managed out of Ireland, were not likely to be prosperous, and his experience had not tended to remove the impressions of his youth."

In "The Dublin Journal," for May 20, 1818, we find a notice of the death and career of a remarkable person:—

"Mr. Patrick Lynch.

"Mr. Patrick Lynch, the secretary to the Gaelic, or Hiberno Celtic Society, of Ireland, whose death was announced lately, was a native of the county of Clare, and after a chequered life of various incidents in different parts of Ireland, he finally settled in Dublin, and was employed on the Records of Ireland at the time of his death. Of genuine and unmixed Irish descent, the character of Lynch was impressed with many of those traits which are supposed to mark his countrymen. He had a heart warm and kind, capable of strong attachments and strong dislikes, and a temper so open and undisguised that he was incapable of concealing either one or the other. He had a high and independent spirit, which never forsook him in various vicissitudes of fortune. He was ever ready to confer favours on others, even beyond his means; but would never stoop to receive a pecuniary obligation himself. His mind was as honest as it was proud, and his great anxiety through life, and

at the time of his death, was to discharge his engagements. His habits were social, but though he had mixed much with mankind, his manners retained the peculiarity and simplicity of one who had never left his native village. But the trait which particularly distinguished him, was an ardent and persevering attachment to literature, strongly characteristic of that propensity which still marks the genuine natives in the remotest parts of Ireland. He not only engaged in the pursuit with avidity himself, but like his early ancestors he was eager to promote it in others, and freely and gratuitously gave his time, attendance, and books to those whom he could in any way assist. As a scholar, he ranked high; his literary attainments were extensive and various. He was well skilled in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and most modern languages. From long, intense, and eager application, he had acquired a vast fund of miscellaneous knowledge, which he stored in a very retentive memory, and his friends were often surprised at the extent and minuteness of that curious information with which he was always ready to illustrate every philological subject started in conversation. On this and various others, statistical, geographical, and historical, he wrote and published many works. But his peculiar attention was directed to the study of his native language, in which he had made great proficiency. He had not only spoke it fluently as his vernacular tongue, but he was well skilled in its written character, which he read and wrote with such elegance and facility, as often to make it the medium of communication in his correspondence with his

equally gifted friends; he had also made collections of MSS. in different parts of Ireland, and some of them of great antiquity, which he read and translated with equal ease. To promote this interesting and patriotic study was his pride and his pleasure. He had several respectable pupils, who seemed to have imbibed from him an avidity for the language of Ireland, equal to his own, and for whose improvement he wrote and published his 'Foras na Gaoidhilge, or Guide to the Gaelic Tongue.''' He published a work named "Terraqueous Globe Survey," in which he specifies the day and the hour of the creation of the world, and gives some account of the geography of the Infernal Regions, their depth and temperature; a work which evidently has been seen with advantage by a prelate of our times.

In "The Dublin Journal" for June, 24, 1818, we find a report of an address being presented to, on the 23rd of June, Sir Robert Peel, chief secretary of the Lord Lieutenant, on the lamentable occasion of his approaching departure from Ireland, by the corporation of Dublin. The address terminated with these words, "Be assured your truly estimable qualities will never be thought of without reverence, or remembered without regard."

Mr. Peel made a long and eloquent reply to the address, at the conclusion of which he said,—

"On one particular question to which you have alluded, the maintenance of the constitution as at present established, let me observe, I should have been guilty of peculiar injustice, if I had not acted after mature deli-

beration and from a sincere conviction. I reflect on the part which I have taken on that question, with the satisfaction which is inseparable from an honest discharge of duty; but which is, at the same time, consistent with deep regret, that that discharge of duty compels me to oppose the claims of a large and important class of our fellow subjects. With a hope and belief that the motives of my public conduct will be justly appreciated, with deep gratitude for the kindness and liberality which I have experienced, and with the most heartfelt wish for the welfare and happiness of all classes of the inhabitants of this country, I shall bid adieu to it, with stronger and more generous feelings of attachment to Ireland than mere obligations of official duty could have inspired, and with an interest in her fortunes which will not be extinguished or abated when those obligations shall have ceased.

"ROBERT PEEL."

Among the many intellectual magnates of the time, with whom George Faulkner was on intimate terms of friendship, and in habits of social intercourse with, was the celebrated Charles O'Connor, of Balanagare, a very remarkable letter of the latter to Faulkner, dated 24th of November, 1767, is to be found in "The Dublin Journal" for January 2, 1818.

Letter from the celebrated Charles O'Connor, of Balanagare, to the respectable founder of "The Dublin Journal."

"Balanagare, Nov. 25th, 1767.

"Dear Sir,—The personal honours you received from our viceroy, both at the levee and your own house, give the strongest impression of his talents for Government. In that idea I am no way surprised, that a new governor of Ireland should seek an acquaintance with its principal citizens; particularly with you, as he could not but have learned that no citizen in the kingdom was better acquainted with its men of rank of all professions and principles. He must have heard that they met frequently under your roof, and had (so to speak) long sessions around your table, where convivial enjoyments excluded all reserve, except what discretion and good manners imposed. You know the proper interests, you know the principal people of your country, and you have long known both, and it is from such men of knowledge, who want and expect nothing, that an able minister will receive proper information stript of all disguises. We had hitherto no agricultural law that, properly speaking, could execute itself. The wisdom of the legislature could easily, I think, provide such a law. Nothing on earth could produce the prosperity of this island more effectually, and England evidently would be a great gainer by it; such a law would derive greater glory to a great minister, than a hundred inscriptions on the pedestals of a hundred marble statues. Our Popery Laws are so dispersed through our statute volumes that the seeking them out in that detached condition is a very irksome task: to draw them out under proper

heads and proper arrangements, would be a very useful undertaking, and my friend, Counsellor Rice, told me that such a disposition was made, and nearly executed. I shall enquire about this matter as soon as I arrive in town, and will give you all the information I can get."

Some remarkable lines, signed J. N., are to be found in "The Dublin Journal" for October, 1818.

"THE RUINED CASTLE."

"Lonely mansion of the dead,
Who can tell thy varied story?
All thy ancient line have fled,
Leaving thee in ruin hoary.

Balcony and buttress fair,
Arrowy frieze thy lines surrounding;
Rayless keep, and hanging stair,
To the murmuring breezes sounding.

Thou has had thy day of pride;
Martial squadrons ranked before thee;
Towering high and flaunting wide,
Gilded banners beaming o'er thee.

Heroes came and tilted near;
Beauty claimed thee for her dwelling;
Evening pilgrims paused to hear
Tones of mirth and music swelling.

From thy lattices the light
Threw a magic halo round thee;
And, amidst the shades of night,
With a lurid girdle bound thee.

Thou hast had thy day of strength;
Braved the tempest in its thunder,
Scorned invasion, but, at length,
Time hath rent thy walls asunder.

Oft thy Ladye, from the tower,
Anxious o'er the forest glancing,
Hailed her lord at twilight hour,
On his noble charger prancing.

Home returning thro' the plain,
With the laurels war had crowned him,
Pages at his bridle rein,
Grooms behind, and squires around him.

Sad are now thy chambers, which
  Warriors thronged, and women haunted ;
Wall-flowers bloom in every niche,
  Where the culverin was planted.

Ivy tendrils twine thy brow,
  Purple lichens clinging to thee ;
Birds of night thy dwellers now ;
  Swallows skim and twitter through thee !

Once, beneath the breath of morn,
  In thy halls did cheer awaken ;
Dull, and desolate, and worn,
  Thou art lone and left forsaken.

Where is now thy power and pride ?
  Whence had fled thy ancient glory ?
Whelmed in Time's disastrous tide,
  'Tis a moral for a story."

J. N.

The marriage of a descendant of Dean Swift's uncle, the Godwin Swift by whom he was educated, is recorded in "The Dublin Journal" for October 30, 1818:—

"Godwin Swift, of Dublin, was married in St. George's Church, on the 23rd October, 1818, to Mary, daughter of John Swift, late collector of Excise, Trim."

In the same journal for April 8th, 1818, we find the following notices:—

"James O'Connell, Esq., of Darrinane, married to Miss O'Donoghue, daughter of the late O'Donoghue, Esq., of the Glen, in April, 1818."

"Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart., collector of Excise for Dublin (of Irish Rebellion historical notoriety,) died in April, 1818."

In 1818, from the beginning of the year to the end, "The Dublin Journal" was an evening paper, published

thrice weekly, printed and published for the proprietors at their office, 15, Parliament Street, and so it continued to be to the end of a dishonoured career, in 1825.

One of the occasional writers in "The Dublin Journal," about 1817 and 1818, was a Mr. William Cody, who had been a hosier in Skinner Alley, in 1793, had failed in business, then renounced the errors of popery, and ultimately became a hireling of the Orange journal. He had been an occasional contributor to the liberal press. But his patriotism, like his other trade in hosiery becoming unprofitable, he took to the "stagging" and Tory scribbling line of business. In due time his services were rewarded. He was appointed an officer of excise. He wrote miscellaneous articles for magazines, and some melodramatic pieces—one of them entitled "The Burning of Moscow."

In "The Dublin Journal" of the 27th November, 1818, "a circular letter" appears from Edward Hay, then a prisoner for debt in Dublin, setting forth his long continued services to the Catholic cause since 1807, and stating that in the discharge of his duties, as secretary to the Catholic committee, he had incurred heavy expenses, the payment of which had been withheld from him, and the Catholics of Ireland had been left by their repudiation to incur the disgrace of leaving those just and honourable claims unsatisfied. "It would be of no avail to enter into the particulars of the treatment I

have incurred," says Mr. Hay. He ends by earnestly calling on the Catholic community for their contributions to effect his liberation. Poor Hay was shamefully treated.

In 1819 the size of "The Dublin Journal" was enlarged by an additional column, the price raised to five pence, the paper published on the evenings of Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at the office of the proprietors, No. 15, Parliament Street.

The great theatrical fracas in which the partizans of Miss M. Byrne, a singer of some celebrity, and the grand daughter of the well-known Dublin merchant, Edward Byrne, of Mullinahack, and those of the patentee of the Theatre Royal, of Crow Street, Dublin, were engaged for several nights (on account of the arbitrary dismissal of Miss Byrne), to the great mischief and ultimate ruin of the property of the latter, is detailed at considerable length in "The Dublin Journal" for April 19, 1819. The statements *in extenso* of Miss Byrne, and of F. E. Jones, Esq., the patentee, are both given.

In that great fracas (of nearly half-a-century ago), and the unfortunate incidents connected with it, in the shape of heavy blows and great discouragements to youthful valour, it is allowable for me to say: "*Haud ignara mali sed miseris succurrere disco.*"

In 1820, for the first time, the name is to be found of "Alexander Thom," as the printer and publisher of

"The Dublin Journal," at the office, No. 15, Parliament Street. "The Dog in office" had then ceased to be, and the proprietors found it necessary to do something to retrieve the character of this most infamous of all the Dublin Orange and Protestant ascendency newspapers of the time, "The Dublin Journal." Accordingly they engaged Mr. Thom, a man of high intelligence and excellent character connected with newspaper printing and management, to take charge of "The Dublin Journal." That gentleman was the father of the well-known and highly respected Alexander Thom, the queen's printer and stationer, in Ireland, a man to whose enterprise and intelligence Ireland is deeply indebted.

His father, Alexander Thom, was a native of Scotland; in 1820 he was employed to print, superintend, and manage the publication of "The Dublin Journal." We find in the numbers of that paper, in the latter part of 1820, the words at the end of the last column of the paper: "Printed by A. Thom, at the office, 15, Parliament Street."

In June, 1824, A. Thom had ceased to be connected with "The Dublin Journal." "The Dublin Journal" was then on its last legs. It struggled on till the beginning of 1825, when it ceased to be.

Mr. Walter Thom was born at Bervie, in Kincardineshire, in 1770, and died in Dublin 16th June, 1824. He was the author of "Sketches of Political Economy," published in 1810, and of the history of the city of Aberdeen, published in 1811, in two volumes; "Pedes-

trianism, or an account of celebrated pedestrians, during the last and present centuries," 8vo. 1813. Mr. Thom contributed several articles for the early volumes of "Brewster's Edinburgh Encyclopædia," and wrote for "Sir John Sinclair's General Report of Scotland"—the second chapter, on Tenures, and the sixteenth chapter, on the Political Economy of Scotland. In 1814, Mr. Thom accepted the editorship of the "Dublin Correspondent," a daily newspaper, from which he retired in 1816, to become joint proprietor and editor of "The Dublin Journal," which continued under his management until a month previous to his decease, in 1824. Mr. Thom was interred in St. Luke's Churchyard, in the Coombe, and his son placed a tablet to his memory in the church.

Before I conclude this account of the career of "The Dublin Journal," a few words remain to be said of its ignoble proprietor from 1793 to 1819, Mr. John Giffard.

CHAPTER II.

Last Speech and Dying Words of "The Dublin Journal."—Notice of Jack Giffard and Paddy Duigenan.—"Arcades Ambos."

Not long before the death of George Faulkner he addressed a few solemn and affectionate words to his dear old friends, patrons, and subscribers, acquainting them with his failing health, and urgent necessity for all moneys due to him. His peculiar style is very manifest in this quasi valedictory, but very business like, epistle of his in "The Dublin Journal."

"Mr. Faulkner is so far from printing two sets of the Journals for different purposes the same day, that he never taketh any Paragraphs whatever the same post from any other Paper, although he is told, that other news printers take some from his, which may be easily discovered, by comparing their morning and evening papers together.

"Some queries most humbly offered to the Publick.

"George Faulkner, having been the Printer and Proprietor of the 'Dublin Journal' for near thirty years,

doth hereby call upon the world, to know if he ever printed Blasphemy, Irreligion, Immorality, Lewdness, Profaneness, Impiety, Scurrility, Treason, Sedition, Scandal, or Falsehood?

"Are not all News Printers more liable to be imposed upon than any other set of men, by false Paragraphs being sent to them?

"Hath not he always had in view the Honour and Interest of Ireland?

"Hath he ever printed, in Public or Private, one single Paragraph to the Prejudice, Disreputation, or loss of any person whatever?

"Hath he ever infringed upon the Liberty or Property of any person whatever, either in his own profession, or out of it?

"Did he ever foment party division, or Disrepute?

"On the contrary, hath he not been as impartial a News Printer as ever published a Paper?

"Hath he not printed such Paragraphs and Advertisements in his Journal, for all persons whatever, that could be consistent with Law and Decency?

"Whom hath he ever offended in Word, Thought, Deed, Writing, or Printing?

"Whenever he was imposed upon by false Paragraphs (which hath happened seldomer in his Paper than any other in Europe of the same standing), hath he not, upon a proper application, always retracted them, or taken them out, to the entire satisfaction of the offended persons and the Publick?

"These Queries, it is hoped, will satisfy the world that he hath been a good Subject, an useful member in Society, humane to his fellow creatures, and a true friend to his country." Poor George was beginning to drivel and become querulous.

In Faulkner's "Dublin Journal" for June 29, 1769, we find the following notice in the list of marriages, which has reference to the chief subject of this notice:

"At Ballynaclash, Co. Wexford, *Surgeon* Giffard to the Amiable Miss Morton, daughter of the late William Morton, Esq., with a handsome fortune."

In the "Dublin Directory" for 1772, the name of Mr. John Giffard first appears, described as "an apothecary and druggist, Fishamble St."

It may be inferred from these data, which certainly have reference to the same person, that Giffard commenced his career in the business of an apothecary in Wexford, married there, dubbed himself surgeon, and removed to Dublin, where he set up in the business of an apothecary, in 1771.

A gentleman on whose veracity I can place the fullest reliance, connected by marriage with Mr. John Giffard, has informed me that the latter was a native of Wexford, that his family had a few acres of land in the neighbourhood of the town—the place was called Ballycorlan—that he was educated in the Blue Coat School, Dublin, and apprenticed to an apothecary; and having managed to set up in that business on his own account

in Fishamble Street, Dublin, some time previously had married a Miss Morton, a grand aunt of my informant.

While still carrying on his business in Fishamble Street, he devoted his spare time to reporting the proceedings in the Irish House of Commons.

The earliest report of a speech in that house reported by him is "Mr. Orde's Plan of a system of education in Ireland, submitted to the House of Commons, with a Debate thereon. April 12th, 1787. Reported by John Giffard." Printed by Porter, Dublin.

He was then a member of the corporation, beginning to make himself somewhat notorious. In 1793 he became the proprietor of "The Dublin Journal," and from that period evinced an extraordinary degree of ferocity in his intolerance and fanaticism.

Another fanatic of the same order, Patrick Duigenan, was then also beginning to make himself known for his rampant bigotry.

Giffard and Duigenan set out in their mischievous career at the same time, and were mutually servicable to one another. Eventually "The Dublin Journal" distinguished itself by the extravagant admiration entertained by its proprietor for Dr. Duigenan, and that journal became the principal organ of his interests.

"The Dublin Journal" was to Dr. Duigenan, what the "Warder" and the "Mail" were to the Revd. Robert McGee, and his spiritual brother, the Revd. Hugh McNeil. Giffard's respect and veneration for

Duigenan approached very nearly to idolatry. He advocated Duigenan's polemical views, and vindicated his political opinions strenuously in his journal and in the Dublin Corporation. Duigenan, on the other hand, adopted all the outrageous sentiments and principles of Giffard against Roman Catholics and the people of Ireland in general outside the Pale of Protestant Ascendancy, and acted on both in the English House of Commons. From the day Giffard became connected with the "Dublin Journal" to the end of that connection, that journal was in the pay of the government.

For the benefit of the English readers of this work, and it is mainly with a view to get a hearing for the grave facts that are dealt with in it that it is published, I lay before them in this memoir of Giffard a striking example and illustration of the mode of governing a country that was in vogue in Ireland in the eighteenth and some portion of the nineteenth century, by subsidizing the newspaper press of the capital, and bribing its conductors, first by regularly paid salaries and special grants for particular secret services, next by a monopoly of government advertisement, such as proclamations, privy council decrees and ordinances, and other state papers, the publication of which was paid for by the treasury, and the charges for which were regulated not by the amount of matter printed.

In 1797 and 1798 the principal Dublin newspapers were "The Press," "The Dublin Evening Post," "The

Freeman's Journal," "The Hibernian Journal," "Saunders' News Letter," and "The Dublin Journal."

"The Dublin Journal" and "Freeman's Journal" were the organs of the government, and the faction that swayed its councils.

"Saunders' News Letter" professed neutrality in politics, and was chiefly devoted to commercial communications. The two others were moderate supporters of liberal principles. The amount of literary talent exhibited in most of the Dublin journals was extremely small. In respect to ability "The Press" surpassed all its cotemporaries "The Dublin Evening Post" ranked next to the latter journal, and in the fidelity and accuracy of its reports of the proceedings in parliament, and in the courts of law surpassed all the other Dublin papers.

Of the "Dublin Journal," which claimed to be the government newspaper of that day, a few words of its then proprietor may not be found unnecessary.

From the period of Faulkner's death, this paper gradually declined in spirit and integrity, till its doom was fixed, when its fanatical career commenced, on its coming into the hands of one of the most illiterate and illiberal men who ever became ambitious of conducting a public journal. This person, Mr. John Giffard, better known by the complimentary sobriquet of the "dog in office," was brought up in the Blue Coat Hospital. He was taken by the hand by a person of the name of Thwaites, a brewer, and was brought up to the business

of an apothecary. He married a young woman of some means, in the county of Wexford, and set up as an apothecary in the town of Wexford, but got maltreated in a brawl with a man of the name of Miller, in that town, and removed to Dublin, where he set up in the business of an apothecary, in Fishamble Street, in 1771.

In that year, a Mr. John Giffard, a cooper, of Price Lane, Fleet Street, died in Dublin, but whether a relation or not of the former I cannot say; and the following year his name is found in the list of common councilmen; as his prospects brightened, he changed his residence to College-street, then to Grafton-street, and finally to Suffolk-street, in 1790. He distinguished himself early for the violence of his democratic principles, became a member of the volunteer association, and declaimed, in unmeasured terms, against parliamentary corruption, tyranny, and English influence.

Patriotism, however, and the glory acquired in the volunteer service, brought no money into the pocket of Mr. John Giffard; and in a little time, to the amazement of his friends, he suddenly changed his politics, reviled his former associates, and was duly encouraged and advanced by his new confederates. The first notoriety he acquired was in the discharge of the humble duties of director of the city watch. In this office he had given some offence to the collegians, and this powerful and lawless body decreed the honours of a public pumping to Mr. John Giffard. As they were in

the habit of beating the watch with impunity, and even breaking open houses for the purpose of seizing persons who had offended them, they proceeded to Giffard's house in a tumultuous manner, and commenced the demolition of his doors and windows. Giffard manfully defended his house, repulsed the assailants, and shot one of the young rioters in the wrist.

From this time, though Giffard did not throw physic to the dogs, the fortunate dog was himself thrown into office. He filled no particular post or definable situation, but was a man of all work of a dirty kind for the Castle, and a hanger on of the Clares and Beresfords.

In the spring of 1790, Giffard's privileged insolence had already reached the acme of its audacity. He attacked Mr. Curran in the streets at noon-day, for alluding, in his place in parliament, to the large sums of money squandered on the subordinate agents and partizans of administration.

The circumstances of this insult are detailed in a letter of Mr. Curran to the Right Honourable Major Hobart, the secretary, demanding the dismissal of this menial of the government from his post in the revenue.

"A man of the name of Giffard," he states, "a conductor of your press, a writer for your government, your notorious agent in the city, your note-taker in the House of Commons, in consequence of some observation that fell from me in that house, on your prodigality in rewarding such a man with the public money, for such

services, had the audacity to come within a few paces of me in the most frequented part of the city, and shake his cane at me in a manner that, notwithstanding his silence, was not to be misunderstood."

Curran, despising the menial, held the master responsible for the insolence of the servant, and a duel between him and Major Hobart was the consequence.

Just previously to the trial of Hamilton Rowan in 1794, for a seditious libel, it was found necessary to have a jury which could be relied on for a conviction, and a sheriff that could be trusted in such an emergency. Mr. Giffard was made sheriff some months previously to the trial, "a jury of the right sort" was impannelled, and Hamilton Rowan was sent to Newgate.

Mr. Giffard was at this time, by Lord Clare's patronage and protection, on the high road to preferment under government, and its countenance had already enabled him to become the chief proprietor of the "Dublin Journal." From the time it came into his hands, its violence, virulence, vulgarity, and mendacity, were of so extreme a character, that in the present day its advocacy would be held detrimental and disgraceful to any party. Yet its editor was patronized, and preferred to places of honour and emolument by the administration, and especially favoured with the countenance and confidence of Lord Clare. Indeed, none but the most worthless and unscrupulous men were selected for his favour, or fitted to be his agents.

The next signal instance of Giffard's effrontery, was on the occasion of Mr. Grattan's appearance at the hustings, in 1803, to vote for the then liberal candidate, Sir Jonah Barrington. Mr. Giffard objected to Mr. Grattan's vote, on the alleged ground of his name having been expunged from the corporation list, in consequence of the report of the secret committee of the House of Commons, especially got up and revised by Lord Clare, containing the evidence of a man of the name of Hughes (a notorious informer), involving Mr. Grattan in the designs of the United Irishmen. Grattan, on this occasion, poured forth a volume of invective on the astonished Mr. Giffard; such, perhaps, as never fell on the devoted head of so humble a minion of administration. This memorable burst of disdain and indignation was in the following terms:—

"Mr. Sheriff, when I observe the quarter from whence the objection comes, I am not surprised at its being made. It proceeds from the hired traducer of his country, the excommunicated of his fellow-citizens, the regal rebel, the unpunished ruffian, the bigotted agitator. In the city, a firebrand; in the court, a liar; in the streets, a bully; in the field, a coward. And so obnoxious is he to the very party he wishes to espouse, that he is only supportable by doing those dirty acts the less vile refuse to execute."

Giffard's reply, as recorded by Sir Jonah Barrington, "I would spit upon him in a desert," is indicative enough of the mind and manners of the discomfited zealot.

The services that Giffard, and such men as Giffard were expected to perform, and paid for the performance of in the press at this period may be estimated by the general character of the paper he conducted. The conductors of newspapers, and the writers in them prostituted their talents, for pecuniary objects, served purposes of state, or rather of faction and of sect, and in these times had a very infamous work to do.

The service they had to perform was to aim at bringing every one who loved his country or reverenced good government into disrepute, to sneer and scoff at everything that was national, and, in the true sense of the terms, liberal and tolerant; to sow divisions among the people, to set sect against sect, to cry down the character, use, and advantage of an Irish parliament while it existed, to deny the injuries inflicted on Irish commerce, manufactures, and all interests, intellectual as well as material done by the union, to bewilder and bewray public opinion, and to make a *burla* of all public principle, and a mere sophism of constitutional government.

The French Revolution most assuredly produced no greater firebrand than John Giffard, Esq., the editor of "The Dublin Journal" from 1793, *the man* in office (not to slander the poor canine species) whom the King of England and his Government in Ireland delighted to honor.

John Giffard has been honoured with a biographical memoir, written in terms of extravagant eulogy in

"Ireland's Mirror," for June, 1805, adorned "with an elegantly engraved portrait." The poor "dog in office," of exceedingly humble parentage in the town of Wexford, is transformed in this memoir into the descendant of an illustrious English family—into "the representative of a family that once held high rank amongst the most ancient English gentry, the Giffards, of Halsbury and Brightley, in the county of Devon, whose attachment to their unfortunate sovereign, and the Church of England, subjected them to all the oppressions and confiscations which the fanatic rebels of 1648 could in their malice inflict. The gallantry, fortitude, and loyalty of Colonel John Giffard, of Brightley, rector of Biddefore, of Brightly, and his brother, the Rev. Arthur Giffard, rector of Biddiford, have been celebrated."

A great grandson of the above Colonel Giffard being much given to hospitality, inherited all the estates of his progenitors that were not confiscated, was unfortunately compelled to part with them about 1748. This hospitable and ruined gentleman, we are told, was the uncle of Mr. John Giffard, the subject of the narrative.

The hospitable and ruined Devonshire gentleman left a son, fortunately for Ireland, and the corporation of Dublin, and for Protestant ascendancy, who was an attorney, and that attorney, we are told, came to Ireland about 1744. "He married the daughter of an old Protestant Irish family, the Murphys, of Oulart, in the county of Wexford, by whom he had this one child (the celebrated John) who became an orphan within a year

after his birth." Master John Giffard lost his mother at the age of eight years.

Of his early career nothing more is told than that "he was thrown at an early age on the world." The impartial biographer, who was evidently John Giffard himself, makes no mention of the Bluecoat Hospital Charitable Establishment for the education and maintenance of destitute Protestant children.

For any little education, however, which he received, he was indebted to that establishment. The next step, we learn from the memoir, in his career, is his being apprenticed to a Dublin apothecary of the name of Thwaites.

The eulogist of "The Dog," soon destined to be "in office," informs the public:

"His knowledge of the English classics and his excellent memory, are equally remarkable. A gentleman of the first talents at the Irish bar, is accustomed to relate with admiration that he was once present at a conversation of considerable length, between Mr. Giffard and the unhappy T. Wolfe Tone, which was carried on entirely by quotations from the English poets.

"During his apprenticeship Mr. Giffard had often occasion to meet Dr. Charles Lucas, then in the height of his popularity, and member for the city of Dublin. His manners and talents obtained the attention of Lucas, whose patronage was then an object likely to attract the ambition of a young man; and from him the subject of these memoirs received such marks of approbation and

kindness, as some of the family of Lucas have had reason to believe, he afterwards recollected with gratitude.

"In 1768, having finished his apprenticeship, Mr. Giffard went to London, where he continued for some time to perfect himself in his profession, by attending the lectures of the celebrated Dr. Hunter, and, 1769, returned to Ireland, married, and shortly after settled himself as an apothecary in Dublin.

"About this time there existed in this city a debating society, called the Rotula—which, though select in the choice of its members, was yet very numerous, and at one time included a very great proportion of the brightest talent of the Irish bar. Of this society Mr Giffard soon became a very distinguished member, and there acquired that command of elocution which has, in the opinion of many, established him as one of our first-rate public speakers.

"The discussions which preceded the unhappy contest with the American colonies, now began to occupy the attention of the people of Ireland. With many others, Mr. Giffard thought that the Americans had been hardly treated; and so long as they looked up to the legislature for relief, he was one of their well-wishers; but when they broke out into hostilities against their sovereign, and promulgated the mischievous doctrines avowed by Paine, in his pamphlet of "Common Sense,"* from that moment they lost many of their warmest advocates, and

* To which Mr. Giffard is believed to have written a reply, entitled "Reason —in answer to Common Sense." Printed by Hoey, 1776.

amongst the rest, Mr. Giffard, who had by this time become an important member of the Common Council of Dublin, and the decided adversary of Napper Tandy, who, nearly at the same time, came forward in the Corporation as a principal supporter of American politics.

"When the dangers of the country called upon the loyal inhabitants of Ireland to take up arms in her defence, the first corps formed in Dublin was that of the "Dublin Volunteers." It was at a meeting of a few friends, at Mr. Giffard's house, that the idea was first started. They agreed to embody themselves, and as many of their absent friends as they could prevail upon, into a military corps; and from this spontaneous association of a few private citizens, arose the earliest and most respectable portions of that glorious body of true patriots—the original volunteers of Ireland.

"Having acquired a sufficient number to constitute a regiment, the command was, on the proposal of Mr. Giffard, offered to the late Duke of Leinster, who accepted that honour with a satisfaction which proved how justly he could estimate the voluntary and unsolicited confidence of a body of loyal and independent citizens.

"In this corps, too, Napper Tandy was early enrolled a member, and here, too, he was met by his Common Council antagonist; but here Tandy felt his turbulent spirit too much restrained, and having failed in an attempt to depose the Duke of Leinster from the command, seceded with a number of his followers, with

whom he formed another corps of volunteers, from which, upon a new quarrel, he also seceded.

"At the peace of 1783, those volunteers who obeyed the voice of Parliament, hung up their arms as no longer necessary; of these the Dublin Volunteers were among the foremost."

John Giffard's first appearance in print we find in the "Hibernian Journal," from 23rd to 25th October, 1771: —"Being election day for the Corporation of Apothecaries, Mr. John Pentland, Mary's Abbey, was elected master; and John Giffard, Fishamble Street, and Mr. Thos. Powell, were elected wardens for the ensuing year.

Thus the future firebrand of Dublin was heard of in print for the first time.

As his prospects brightened he changed his residence from Fishamble Street to College Street, then to Grafton Street, and finally to Suffolk Street, in 1790. He distinguished himself early for the violence of his democratic principles, became a member of the Volunteer Association, and declaimed in unmeasured terms against parliamentary corruption, tyranny, and English influence.

Previously Mr. John Giffard was only known by the citizens of Dublin as one of the directors of the city watchmen, and a member of the corporation, a man of truculent tendencies, equally apt and able to play the bully and the firebrand in the corporation, and a time serving, servile, and sycophantic slave in his relations with the Castle.

I had the honour of one interview with Mr. John Giffard, and carried away with me a very lasting impression of his insolence, coarseness, and vulgarity, ungovernable temper, of his ignoble nature, ungenerous disposition, and overbearing vulgar manners. With all his impetuosity and pugnaciousness Giffard had a keen eye to his own interests, and was by no means scrupulous in his acts to promote them.

From the time of Giffard's *debut* on the stage of journalism, in the character of a reporter of parliamentary proceedings, to 1793, when he became editor and owner of "The Dublin Journal," and for some years subsequently, physic was not thrown to the dogs by him. He devoted himself mainly, however, to Orangedom's servic, which he called the service of the crown, and entered on its duties in the capacity of a privileged bully and state protected ruffian of the press.

He filled no particular post or definite situation in the castle, but was a man of all work of a dirty kind for government, a hanger-on of "the undertakers"—the Beresfords, &c.

The fate of "The Dublin Journal," established by George Faulkner, and conducted by him in a manner to establish for it the highest character of any Irish journal, was similar to that of the "Freeman's Journal," if not established, at least maintained with so much public spirit and devotion to public interests by Charles Lucas. Both journals, cotemporaries and rivals in public favour, for a great many years, fell into the hands of base men,

who made these organs of public opinion organs of sordid interests; sold them to government, and brought disgrace upon them.

In the periodical above referred to, "Ireland's Mirror," for July, 1805, page 355, the biographical notice of John Giffard, Esq., Sheriff's Peer of Dublin, is concluded from the preceding number. This notice is more curious than the first one, for the ludicrous efforts of the writer to make the most contemptible partizan of a sordid, insolent, intolerant, needy, and greedy faction, a champion of religion, a heroic defender of the British constitution, an honour to Ireland, and the Magnus Apollo of the Dublin Corporation.

The glorifier of this sordid man says:—

"The interval between the original association of the volunteers in 1778, and their spontaneous disbanding in 1794, was an eventful period in the history of Ireland. The attention of the country had just been awakened to the anomalous and unconstitutional power of legislating for Ireland, claimed and exercised by the parliament of Great Britain; the same attachment to the true principles of the constitution which led him to condemn the Americans, urged Mr. Giffard to assert, as far as in him lay, the rights of Ireland; accordingly in April, 1780, at the meeting of the Dublin Volunteers, he was the mover of a resolution, which was unanimously carried, and which may be almost said to have laid the foundation of the settlement of 1782, confirmed and ratified by the act of renunciation of the British parliament in 1783.

"This resolution, as nearly as we can recollect it, was 'That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland *only*, are competent to make laws to bind this country.'

"The active part which he took in political discussions, naturally enough directed his attention to the proceedings in parliament: the only way in which they could at this time be known was by personal attendance at the debates. Before the year 1780, but one attempt at a fair and regular report of the Irish parliamentary proceedings had ever been made—it was that of Sir James Caldwell, who published two volumes of debates of the years 1763 and 1764—thenceforward the meagre reports of the magazines, or the licentious travesties of the newspapers, were the only sources from which the public at large could guess at the conduct of their representatives. Indeed, the newspapers of those days furnish instances of the most ludicrous audacity in this respect; it is not uncommon to find in them a parliamentary report, in which it is said, 'Mr. —— rose, and with the effrontery peculiar to his matchless impudence, attempted to deny what was stated by the excellent patriot Mr. ——;' or 'that daring traitor to his country, *****, spoke for two hours against the interests of Ireland.'

"This state of public information Mr. Giffard undertook to rectify. An uncommonly retentive memory enabled him to collect and report with great accuracy the speeches delivered in the House of Commons; these he communicated to a newspaper, then in considerable

circulation. They were eagerly sought after by the public, and at the end of session of 1781, were collected into a volume, which forms the first of the series of the Irish parliamentary debates.

"The success of this attempt induced others to imitate it, and it soon became no unusual practice for young men of classical education to devote the interval between leaving the university and entering into professions, to reporting parliamentary debates for the Irish newspapers.

"In 1783, the Irish government at length was induced to take notice of one who had often and usefully stood forward as their voluntary and unsolicited supporter, and Mr. Giffard was appointed to the lucrative office of Gauging Surveyor of the port of Cork, from which he was shortly after advanced to a similar office in the port of Dublin.

"When, in 1784, the doctrines of Parliamentary Reform were broached in England, they very soon extended to this country, and it required all the wisdom of the Duke of Rutland's administration to combat successfully against a principle, which by its speciousness attracted a vast majority of the people, but which in its effect would have reduced the country to all the distractions of democratic anarchy.

"At the public meetings called by Napper Tandy for these dangerous discussions, Mr. Giffard was a conspicuous actor; strongly attached to the principles of the Revolution of 1638, he was alarmed at the danger with

which they were threatened by an attempt to throw the legislative power into the hands of the mass of the people. He therefore stood forward as the opponent of what was called Parliamentary Reform, chiefly resting his opposition upon its being incompatible with the safety of the establishment in church and state. In this cause he often found himself unsupported and alone, but convinced of the truth of his opinions, he continued his opposition until, by an over-hasty attempt to effect their purpose by means of an armed assembly, the Reformers displayed a disposition to over-awe parliament, were abandoned by their warmest and most respectable advocate, and finally disappeared from public notice.

"From this period, we find Mr. Giffard, as a member of the corporation, contending upon subjects of civic regulation with the party of Napper Tandy, which, about 1790, had become numerous and powerful in the city of Dublin.

"Of the detestable principles promulgated by the French revolutionists, and which were eagerly adopted by the demagogues of the day, Mr. Giffard was an early, and in the *Corporation* a successful antagonist; and when in 1792, the Roman Catholics were called upon by the late Mr. E. Byrne to make their application to parliament for political privileges, Mr. Giffard was able, for the first time, to defeat Napper Tandy in the common council of Dublin, and to carry, by a large majority, a resolution for an Address to the Protestant

Corporations of Ireland, calling upon them to co-operate in opposing the claims of the Roman Catholics.

"This address, which has been called, 'the City of Dublin Manifesto,' was drawn up by Mr. Giffard, and was so well received by those to whom it was directed, that petitions to parliament against the Roman Catholics flowed in from almost every corporation and grand jury in Ireland.

"From this time Mr. Giffard became very popular in the corporation of Dublin, and in the next year, 1793, was elected one of the high sheriffs for the year ensuing.

"This office, arduous enough in times of quiet, was particularly difficult in the year 1794. A strong spirit of disaffection had spread through the country, the war with France was not generally popular, and the activity of French agents was employed to increase disaffection by the circulation of the most abominable principles; the society of United Irishmen, founded by T. W. Tone, had established themselves in such strength as almost to defy the government, and such was the terror which they inspired, that to enforce the laws against them was deemed almost impossible.

"The high sheriff was not, however, to be deterred from his duty. Mr. Rowan, a gentleman of large fortune, who had unhappily suffered himself to be seduced into the society, became the subject of a state prosecution, for one of those libels which the United Irishmen were daily publishing again the government. Much

appeared to depend upon the issue of his trial—it was to be, in fact, the trial of strength between the government of Ireland and the society of United Irishmen. The sheriff, whose duty it was to return the jury, knew that it was necessary to select men of firm and independent minds, not likely to be terrified from, or embarrassed in the discharge of a solemn duty, by menaces or by sophistry. Such a jury was returned, and in Hilary term, 1794, Mr. Rowan was convicted.

"In the state of irritation to which the society of United Irishmen had raised the public feeling, it may be imagined that this unexpected defeat would exasperate their partizans against the magistrate who appeared to have produced it. Such was the consequence to Mr. Giffard, and perhaps in the angriest times of political violence, no one man ever became the subject of so much and such various calumny; nor did his dispersing the society of United Irishmen in May, 1794, tend at all to increase his popularity.

"In the next year, 1795, we find him once more the active opponent of the Roman Catholics, who were induced by Lord Fitzwilliam's government to bring forward new claims. On the motion of Mr. Giffard, a petition to the throne against those claims was, on the 12th of March, 1795, carried in the city assembly by a great majority.

"From this period, he seems to have been chiefly occupied by his duty as a captain in the Dublin militia, in which he continued to serve until the peace of 1802.

"The dreadful year 1798, a year of calamity to the country, was particularly so to Mr. Giffard. His nephew by marriage, the gallant Captain Ryan, was killed in the arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald; his beloved son, William Giffard (an officer in the army) was savagely murdered in cold blood by the Kildare rebels, for refusing in the true spirit of paternal loyalty, to become their leader against the troops of his sovereign; his brother in-law, a respectable gentleman of the county of Wexford, died in the jail of Wexford, a prisoner to the rebels; by them another nephew, a brother of Captain Ryan was murdered; and amongst the victims destroyed on the bridge of Wexford, at Scullabogue, and Vinegar-hill, he had to number no less than five of his maternal relatives.

"At the latter end of 1798, the minds of the people of Dublin underwent a change respecting the conduct of Mr. Giffard; it was then seen how dreadfully the principles which he had opposed operated in practice; and on the same day on which Tandy and his adherents were disfranchised, Mr. Giffard was unanimously elected into the very same guild of merchants, which had before refused him the ordinary compliments on retiring from office.

"When the question of UNION was first agitated, Mr. Giffard was amongst its few advocates, upon the same principle upon which he had before opposed Reform—the security of the church establishment. His opinions on this head are recorded in a protest, entered by him

on the common council book—when standing alone the supporter of that measure.

"Upon the late application of the Roman Catholics to parliament, Mr. Giffard proposed, in the common council assembly, a counter-petition, which was agreed to almost unanimously. Next day after the assembly, he was dismissed by command of Lord Hardwicke from his office in the revenue.

"It is not our wish to enter into the controversy which this measure has excited. By the apologists of government, it is said to be justified by the necessity of preventing any public discussions of religious differences.

"As a public speaker, he possesses a strong and flexible voice—a clear and pleasing arrangement of his matter—great strength of expression and astonishing quickness of reply—indeed, he may be said to be without a rival in the common council, and if we may believe his friends, he, upon occasion of an election controversy, in which he was pitted against Mr. Grattan, evinced himself fully equal to the contest.

"As a writer, he is remarkable for the same clearness of arrangement and strength of expression, which he displays in speaking—in the 'Dublin Journal,' over which paper he is supposed to have a control, his writings may be traced by these features.

"To his principles, which it is not for us to censure or approve (save so far as his loyalty to our Sovereign, which we ourselves share and admire), he has been always

and uniformly steady, in his friendships he is ardent—in his pursuits earnest and indefatigable—and in private life estimable and happy."*

In the "Kilkenny Journal" for October 28, 1794, a report is published *in extenso* of legal proceedings instituted by Mr. John Giffard, against a street hawker of ballads and penny books, indicted at the city commission, for publishing a false, scandalous, and defamatory libel, entitled, "The Last Speech and Dying Words of The Dog," with intent to villify the character of the said John Giffard, the late Sheriff of Dublin. Counsellor Giffard, on the part of his father, said it was not his wish to carry on the prosecution with any degree of rigour against Baird, but to have him admitted as evidence against the printer of the libel, Patrick Byrne. Patrick Byrne was first tried, and acquitted. Baird was then tried, and defended by Counsellor McNally, who found two flaws in the indictment, whereupon the prisoner was acquitted.

The Counsellor Giffard above referred to, was Ambrose Harding Giffard, Esq., barrister-at-law, who was called to the bar in 179—, and who subsequently attained great eminence in a judicial capacity, having filled the office of Chief Justice in Ceylon.

This gentleman died at sea, on his return to England, in 1857.

In "Walker's Magazine," for August, 1795, we find a report of "The trial of John Giffard, Esq., late High-

* "Ireland's Mirror" for July, 1805, Vol. II., p. 355.

Sheriff of the city of Dublin; and his son, Harding Giffard, Esq., for assaulting James Potts, Esq., at the commission of Oyer and Terminer, and General Gaol Delivery, held for the county of Dublin, on Wednesday, the 8th of July last, before the Hon Baron Smith."

Mr. Leonard McNally conducted the prosecution. Mr. Barrington defended "the dog" and the junior Giffard.

The facts of the case were simply these:—On Sunday, October 19th, 1794, at the conclusion of service, while the congregation were leaving Tawney Church, near Dundrum, Mr. James Potts, proprietor of "Saunders' News Letter" paper, in his capacity of churchwarden, being standing in the church, talking to the minister, near the communion table, had a message brought to him by the sexton, to the effect that Mr. Giffard wanted to speak to him at the church door. Mr. Potts immediately went to the door, accosted Mr. Giffard in a friendly way, when the latter informed him he had business with him for which that place was too public, and proposed going into an adjoining field. The witness agreed, and when they were in the field, Giffard the elder pulled a newspaper from his pocket—"Saunders' News Letter," of the preceding day—and asked Potts if he was the proprietor. The latter answered in the affirmative.* Mr. Giffard then reddened up in counte-

* In the paper referred to there were some strictures on the "Dog in Office." Defendant's counsel said a libellous caricature (which appeared in "Exshaw's Magazine") designated the "Dog in Office," had been exhibited in the window of the "News Letter" office.

nance, as if in a furious passion, put on a fighting face, and asked Potts if he would fight him, to which Potts replied, after a short pause, that he had no objection. Mr. Giffard then said it must be in five minutes, to which the witness Potts answered, this was rather short warning, as he was not provided either with arms or a friend, to which Mr. Giffard answered, he would provide him. Potts said it was very well, and walked along with Mr. Giffard, and Mr. Cadwallader Boyd, over Churtown Bridge, towards Mr. Giffard's house, and just as they had crossed the bridge, about a hundred yards from the church, Mr. Giffard exclaimed, "A parcel of rascally printers! And you (addressing himself to Potts) the greatest rascal of them all!" Whereupon witness Potts immediately replied, "You lie; I am not!" Upon which Mr. Giffard struck him (Potts) a back-hand blow on the mouth, which cut his upper lip through. Potts was about to retort the blow, when he found himself instantly pinioned by some person behind his back, and who, at the time, he supposed to be young Mr. Harding Giffard, but he would not swear positively it was him, because he did not see him. Potts received, at the same time, several other strokes on the head and face. One of his eyes was much blackened. He was either pushed or knocked down on his face in the mud, and when he endeavoured to recover his legs he found the elder Mr. Giffard astride over him, with a cutting whip in his hand, striking him as rapidly as he could, while down. When Potts could get up, Mr. Giffard

retired a few paces, and then told him he would wait at home for him; to which Potts replied to Mr. Giffard, "He was an infamous, cowardly scoundrel!" On which Mr. Ambrose Harding Giffard came up and said that Mr. Potts had got what he richly deserved; to which Potts replied, "'Tis very well, sir." Immediately after Mr. Boyd followed Potts to the house where he had taken shelter, and informed Potts that Mr. Giffard would be at home for him the whole evening; to which communication an answer similar to that which was given to Giffard was returned.

Mrs. Campbell, the wife of the rector of Tawney parish, deposed she had seen the affair; that the younger Giffard did not strike the prosecutor, but saw the elder Giffard strike Mr. Potts repeatedly, while down, with a whip. That young Mr. Giffard seemed anxious to make peace, and bring his father away.

Mr. Potts, on being again examined, deposed that the office of the newspaper shop in Dame Street, which was called "Saunder's News Letter," was kept by his nephew; he knew nothing of the magazines or prints exposed there in the window. But Mr. Potts owed Mr. Giffard no compliment, for the latter was constantly abusing him in Faulkner's journal, and libelling him by the appellation of Jacobin, and imputing to his paper seditious principles.

Mr. Ambrose Harding Giffard, having been acquitted of the charge of aiding and abetting his father in the assault, was produced as a witness for the defendant.

He deposed that the first thing he saw on coming up to the place where the affray took place was Mr. Potts in the act of striking at his father. He could not say who gave the first assault, but believes, from what he heard, that it was Mr. Potts who gave the first assault. He believed that the message sent from his father, by Mr. Boyd, to Potts, was not a challenge, or any overture to provoke a challenge, but simply an intimation that he would be at home, and that he would receive a challenge if Mr. Potts should send one.

Mr. McNally, for the prosecution, expatiated on the public and private character of Mr. Giffard, in contradiction to that of Mr. Potts. What was the scene chosen for the assault? The full assemblage of Mr. Potts' fellow parishioners, in order to aggravate the injury done him, and the disgrace of the blows inflicted on him. What was the place? The house of God. And what was the day? The Sabbath. And who was the man who violated the laws, and violated the Sabbath, and desecrated the sanctuary? A justice of the peace; a gentleman who discharged the duties of a magistrate, and was held worthy of being a Conservator of the Peace.

This was the person in office, who had added impiety to outrageous violence, profaned the Lord's day, and made the house of prayer a place for the purpose of revenge.

Just released from his magisterial duties, he is found violating the peace. And not content with beating the

man he invited him to make arrangements for an affair of honour, in a fair contest. He has him knocked down, he bestrides him when he is down, and is abetted in his his violence, while thus bestriding his prostrate opponent, by a couple of assistants, in keeping him down while he is inflicting chastisement with an instrument only fit for the chastisement of dogs! And with that instrument Mr. John Giffard blackens the back of a fellow citizen. Baron Smith charged the jury with his usual candour, &c., &c. And the jury, though all gentleman of "the right sort of politicks and religion," found Mr. John Giffard guilty on both counts, of assaulting and provoking Mr. Potts to fight a duel.

The following day, July the 10th, Mr. Giffard was brought up to receive sentence. He addressed the court saying, "He would not impeach the credit of the verdict of the jury. He hoped the court, if it was their intention to make imprisonment part of the sentence, would commute it for increase of fine. His presence was absolutely necessary to his regiment, now in the county Fermanagh quelling the insurgents, and imprisonment would prevent him from performing that duty which he owed his country."

He then proceeded to animadvert on the evidence against him, on his trial; but was stopped by the judge, who said he could not allow Mr. Giffard to impeach the verdict of the jury, or the evidence of the witnesses; but must consider the former as well founded, and the latter as strictly true. Baron Smith, after pointing out the

enormity of this violation of the peace of the Sabbath, and all the heinous circumstances of the case, sentenced John Giffard to five months' imprisonment on the first indictment, and a fine of five marks on the second.

This slight punishment, for one of the most outrageous violations of the peace, and desecration of religion, that can be well imagined, was immediately commuted by the Lord Lieutenant, "the humane Earl Camden." His excellency was pleased to remit the period of Mr. John Giffard's imprisonment, on condition of his paying £20 to the poor of Tawney, £20 to the poor of Stillargun, and £10 to the poor prisoners of the four courts Marshalsea.

Orangedom was once more propitiated by the Irish government. The violator of the peace was once more "a dog in office," barking at his fellow citizens, who were not Orangemen, snarling in his journal at such men as Curran, Grattan, Ponsonby, and striding in the Castle yard in the ludicrous accoutrements of a military delzi, a protected ruffian, a patronised Orange braggadocio.

Mr. Potts did not long survive the injuries and outrages he received at the hands of Mr. John Giffard; he died in March, 1796.

In 1796, Mr. Giffard's audacity, under the patronage and protection of Earl Camden and his government, aiming at higher game than newspaper editors, barristers, and opposition members of the House of Commons, signalised itself in a slanderous libel on the Duke of

Leinster. We read the the following notice of legal proceedings against the "Dog in Office, in the "Authologia Hibernica" for 1793 (p. 390).

"November 14, yesterday, in the Court of King's Bench, in the case of the King, at the prosecution of the Duke of Leinster, against John Giffard, Esq., one of the present high-sheriffs of the city of Dublin, for a libel against his Grace, the court allowed the cause shewn, and set aside the conditional rule."

The following is from the "Dublin Journal" for November 16th, 1799:—

"Walter Devereux is, we understand, on Saturday, to forfeit his blood-stained life, as a poor atonement to a bleeding country, which is indelibly disgraced by having given birth to such a relentless monster. Happy would it be for the wretch, if the grave were to bury memory as well as body; but it will not be. That which is to come 'after death' is what will shake his soul, when all those murdered innocents, which his barbarity consigned to flames, shall plead against him at the dread tribunal of eternal justice. May he in the awful moment of retribution experience that mercy which he denied to others."

We have a sample of the quality of this bloodthirsty protégé of the Irish administration of the English government, in his comments in the "Dublin Journal" for May 21, 1799, on the capital conviction, as he states, of an Irish gentleman, of one of the oldest

Catholic families of the Norman race, which came into Ireland in 1172.

In the years 1798, 1799, and 1800, "the Dog in Office" discharged the functions of an officer in the municipal council, in the Corporationof Apothecaries, of a conductor and editor of the "Dublin Journal, a surveyor and gauger of the Custom House Quay, a sheriff's peer, an Orangeman, an officer of the Grand Lodge, a captain of the City of Dublin Regiment of Militia. The date of his commission in the army list of 1796, is the 10th of February, 1795.

In July, 1799, the gallant Captain John Giffard was tried by court-martial, held in the barracks of Dublin, upon charges brought against the said Captain John Giffard, by Major Sankey, of the same regiment (vide Milliken's Edition of Trial, 1800). Four charges were brought against the prisoner:—

The first for disrespectful conduct to his commanding officer.

2nd. For neglect of duty and inattention to his company.

3rd. For disobedience of orders.

4th. For scandalous and infamous conduct, unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman, in having made a false return of the necessaries wanting to complete his company, and having directed a serjeant of said regiment to make a false return of the necessaries wanting to complete his said company, particularly under the head of shot, by returning a smaller deficiency

than there actually existed, in order, thereby, to impose on his commanding officer, and to prevent him from knowing that the regimental standing orders, or his own, had not been complied with.

The prisoner pleaded not guilty. He was defended by his son, Counsellor Harding Giffard.

In reply to the second charge, of absenting himself from duty when the regiment was actively engaged against the rebels in the month of May, 1798, Captain Giffard, in his defence, said:—

"On the 22nd of May, by leave of General Duff, I came from Limerick to Dublin, to see Captain Ryan, my nephew. He was mortally wounded by the dagger of the accursed rebel, Fitzgerald. The day immediately following, my son, Lieutenant Giffard, coming also from Limerick, was savagely murdered at Kildare, because he scorned his life, when to be purchased with disgrace. Of this dreadful event I soon heard. I left poor Ryan dying in Dublin, and went to Kildare to cover the mangled remains of my hero. I went singly through that wicked country, and was, of course, fired at through the hedges. I arrived time enough to meet Sir James Duff, and was under him some time at the Collieries, Monastereven, etc., etc. The army then marched to Baltinglass, on its way to the county Wexford. From Baltinglass I was despatched, with 220 infantry under my command, to steal a march in the night, through the armies of rebels that occupied them. This is the proudest event of my life. General Dundas and General

Duff know that, through good providence, I succeeded, threw myself into Rathdrum, which I fortified in a manner much approved of by every officer who saw it, and thus covered Dublin, and prevented the enemy from turning the left of our wing."*

"Magnificabo apostolatum meum."

This glorification of the Captainship of the Dublin Apothecary, when he stole a march in the night through the mountains of Wicklow, occupied by armies of rebels, when he threw himself into Rathdrum, and fortified that important place, and covered Dublin, and saved our left wing being turned by the enemy, is worthy of one of the heroes of Homer. But how superior to Homer's description of similar heroic exploits is Captain John Giffard's "plain, unvarnished tale" of his achievement let the reader judge. Thus Homer sings:—

"The arrows rattled in his quiver as he moved along in all the fierceness of his wrath. His march was like the night. He took his station at a distance from the foe, and sent forth a shaft; and the sounding of the silver bow was terrible. His first attack was on the animals, the mules and *dogs;* but after that he smote the army itself with many a deadly arrow, and the funeral piles of the slain blazed frequent through the camp."

Hom., Il., i.

The court-martial found the gallant captain guilty of

* "Report of Proceedings of Court Martial," p. 52.

the first charge, not guilty of the other charges; "and adjudged him to be reprimanded for said offence at such time and place as his Excellency might be pleased to direct."

The majesty of Orangedom was not to be offended in the person of the warlike apothecary, Captain John Giffard. The idea of a court-martial, in 1799, bringing in a verdict against the proprietor of an Orange journal, on a charge of "scandalous and infamous conduct, unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman," was preposterous. "The lucky dog" was accordingly not only acquitted of that charge and two others, imputing neglect of duty and disobedience of orders to the valiant Giffard, but the daring prosecutor, not having the fear of the "Dublin Journal" and Giffard's Orange patrons before his eyes, was severely censured by the honourable court-martial, as having "originated the three last charges more from pique than from zeal for His Majesty's service."

Nevertheless the court was compelled to find the prisoner guilty of the first charge, and adjudged him to be reprimanded for that offence.

But the power and influence of an Orange partizan of Captain Giffard's pretensions to importance in the state, were not to be disregarded by the government; and, consequently, immediately after the publication of the sentence of the court-martial, Captain Giffard received a letter from the secretary of Lord Cornwallis, addressed

to General Craig, with instructions to present it to the general, to the following effect:—

"Dublin Castle,

"20th August, 1799.

"Sir,—I have it in command from the Lord Lieutenant to desire that you will be pleased to reprimand Captain Giffard, of the Dublin Militia, *in a slight manner*, instead of the mode expressed in his Excellency's warrant to you, of the 13th instant.

"Signed,

"E. B. Littlehales.

"Lieutenant-General Craig, Dublin Barracks."

Thus military men in high positions were made to feel that henceforth all disrespectful conduct on the part of officers under them, who had the advantage of being Orangemen, was only to be punished by a slight reprimand, by the express command of the Governor-General of Ireland.

Thus Orangedom, in 1799, was propitiated by the representative of the Sovereign in Ireland, and impunity accorded to the delinquencies of Mr. Giffard, as the same institution had been propitiated and the same delinquent protected in 1794.

But thirteen years later we find the same governmental favour bestowed on Mr. John Giffard, the dismissed officer of excise, as formerly lavished on "the Dog in Office." The elevation of a man like Giffard from an obscure position to one of power, unrestrained even by law, is well worthy of notice.

Giffard was a man of low origin, naturally brutish and unsusceptible of humanizing influences. The kind of education he received in the Blue Coat School charitable institution, would not have qualified him for the office of a second class teacher of a National Board School of the present day. He was a coarse minded man, innately vulgar, and of a violent, irascible temper.

From 1794 to May, 1801, Mr. John Giffard was one of the great powers of the State in Ireland. In the metropolis he was the recognised representative of the interests of Orangedom. He was the proprietor of its organ, "The Dublin Journal." He was a confidential, privately acknowledged, though not publicly avowed, agent of the several chief secretaries of the Lord Lieutenant in that interval. He swaggered in the Castle in his two fold capacity of a Captain of Yeomanry, and a terrorist, who was a government employé in the civil service. He was the bully of the Orange faction, in the corporation, and in the courts of law, when he filled the office of sheriff. He was the firebrand of the press, a truculent place jobber, and a furious partizan of the faction for which Ireland was governed. But formidable as he was to his opponents, insolent and overbearing to

his inferiors, and of scant courtesy to his equals, he was abject, cringing, and subservient to his superiors.

He was a justice of the peace, though one of the law's most outrageous violators; a sheriff peer and a jury packer, having originated that practice on the occasion of the trial of Hamilton Rowyan, in the first year of his shrievalty, and preserved his influence in the under-sheriff's office, while his faction was in power.

He had the lucrative office, in the Dublin Port Excise Department, of "Surveyor and Guager on the Custom House Quay." He had been appointed to this office in 1786.

Five years had not elapsed after the union had been accomplished and the Reign of Terror that had been inaugurated for that accomplishment had come to an end, than the services of the great terrorists and firebrands of the Orange Yeomanry became onerous to the Irish Government; and the more insolent and formidable of that class of persons were made to feel their support was no longer regarded as absolutely indispensable and essential to the existence of British rule in Ireland. The most arrogant, *exigeant*, and sordid of them all, Mr. John Giffard, was deprived of his lucrative office in the Revenue. "The dog" of course growled in the kennel of the "Dublin Journal" for the loss of the bone, the picking of which he loved so dearly. The "Regal Rebel," in that journal, assailed the representative of his Sovereign violently and virulently; but it was all in vain. The snug place was not

restored to the old Terrorist of "'98," nor was he taken into favour by the Whig administration of the Duke of Bedford; but in February 1807, when Orangedom and Toryism (the inseparable brothers) once more came into power, —the Duke of Richmond being Lord Lieutenant, but the Honourable Arthur Wellesley, the Chief Secretary, being virtually the governing official of the Irish administration of that period—one of the earliest acts of it, was not only the restoration of Giffard to Court favour, and his old Castle influence and authority, but his appointment to a place of the highest trust, and very large emolument, that of Accountant-General of His Majesty's Revenue in Ireland.

Mr. Grattan, in the life of his father, Vol. V, p. 285, in reference to this office of "The Dog," says:— "Giffard had been removed by Lord Hardwicke; but, on the return of the Tories, was restored, with full salary, from the time of his removal."

There is some error in this statement. The time of Lord Hardwicke's Vice-Royalty was from May 25, 1801 to March 18, 1806. Lord Hardwicke was then succeeded by the Duke of Bedford, who continued in the Viceregal office till April 19, 1807, when he was succeeded by the Duke of Richmond. In all the intermediate years, between 1801 and 1806, Giffard's name appears in the list of civil servants of the Irish establishment as the holder of the excise office above referred to by Mr. Grattan: see Watson's Almanack and Registry for the years

1801-2-3-4 and 5; but in the list of officers of the Excise for the year 1806, Giffard's name is not to be found; and is not to be found there again; but in its stead the name of George Brown, Esq., appears in 1806, as his successor in the office of "Surveyor and Guager on the Custom House Quay."

It is to be borne in mind that Mr. Fox returned to power in February, 1806, Mr. Pitt having died on the preceding 23rd of January. Mr. Fox died on the 13th of September, 1806. The Grenville administration followed; and on the 25th of March, 1807, the Tories were once more in power; the Duke of Portland, Percival, Canning, Castlelreagh and Camden, Ministers of State, Lord Eldon, Lord High Chancellor; the Duke of Richmond, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Sir Arthur Wellesley, Chief Secretary, Mr. Leslie Foster, Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Lord Manners, Chancellor of Ireland.

Orangedom was again made the ally of the state in 1807. Giffard was indemnified for his loss of office from 1806, to the full amount of the salary he had been in receipt of, at the time of his removal; but what arrangements were made for him with his successor, who was still continued in that office, are unknown.

The two surviving sons of Giffard were provided for amply.

Mr. Ambrose Hardinge Giffard had been made in 1800 a Commissioner of Bankruptcy,* Mr. Lees Stanley

* Subsequently Sir Ambrose Hardinge Giffard, Chief Justice of Ceylon.

Giffard, some years later, was appointed Collector of Stamp Duties, in the county of Sligo, became indebted officially on a large scale, and was dismissed from his office.

In 1817, the old Terrorist of 1798 was still a "dog in office," but only in the Corporation of Apothecaries, as one of the examiners of that body. His military glory had departed. His connection with the Excise had terminated in an unpleasant manner. The "Dublin Journal" was almost defunct: little of the old truculent virulence remained. The savage instincts of its Orangeism, its traditions, and animosities to the people of Ireland and their faith, however, found a suitable exponent in a London newspaper—the "Standard,"—and an organ for their intolerance, in the journal, edited by the son of Captain John Giffard.

The poor old "dog," no longer a Captain of Militia, a Custom-house officer of the first rank, a Sheriff's Peer, a Corporation bully, an Alderman of Skinner's Alley, a power in Orangedom, a Terror in the State and in the Press, sunk into a state of quiescence and insignificance, which necessarily proved fatal to him. He died in 1819.

In the obituary of the "Gentleman's Magazine," for May, 1819 (vol. LXXXIX., part 1, p. 48), we find a record of the death and a biographical notice of the career of Mr. John Giffard. The signature of the writer, "Normanus," is an evidence of his modesty or his astuteness. He had good reasons for not giving to the public his true name, which was Stanley Lees Giffard. He was then

engaged on the "London press, had ceased to be supervisor of stamp duty receipts for the county Sligo; and had incurred liabilities to a very large amount. The extent to which the notice of the death and career of Mr. John Giffard runs, may be sufficient to prove the importance attached to the history of Mr. Giffard's public life, and the honour in which his memory was held in England. The editor of the most esteemed periodical of its time, devotes 382 lines of that obituary to the memory of John Giffard, while the memory of John Philpot Curran can only obtain from the Venerable Sylvester Urban space in his periodical for Oct., 1817, to the extent of less than one page.

How to write Irish history for the English nation is a very difficult achievement, considering the extraordinary ignorance that prevails on all Irish subjects, even in the highest walks of English literature. The reader's attention is earnestly requested to this memoir of Giffard, in an English periodical, as a very remarkable illustration of the prevailing ignorance in England respecting public men and public affairs in Ireland, that is productive of such grievous injury to English Imperial interests.

In the preceding pages I have shown that John Giffard was a mere adventurer of humble birth, educated in a Protestant charitable institution, where the children of indigent parents, or of unascertained origin, recommended by influential members of the ascendency faction, gained admission. Apprenticed in due time

to an apothecary of the city, he is found setting up in business in Fishamble Street, figuring in the ranks of the Volunteers, scrambling into prominent situations, gaining admission into the Corporation, paying court to people in authority in all categories of Common Councilmen, subordinate Castle functionaries, and Protestant ascendency politicians. In the press, in the House of Commons and in polemical clubs, greedy of gain, professing to be zealous for the interests of the Protestant religion and the Constitution. From the humble post of a director of the city watch, he has been tracked to his place in the Common Council, to his position as a proprietor of a fire-brand Irish newspaper; a hanger-on and back-stairs confidant of the highest Castle functionaries of state; an officer of excise, with great emoluments, and no duties; a High Sheriff; a Captain of the City of Dublin Militia. From the beginning of his public career to its close he has been found always turbulent, insolent, audacious, vulgar, mendacious, truculent, and brutal in his appearance, in his manners, in his official bearing in his writings in the "Dublin Journal;" an Orangeman of the lowest grade, of the most intemperate politics and Juggernaut-like polemics of the worst era of that institution of rabid bigotry, and rapacious factious intolerance. Of the outrageous conduct of that privileged fire-brand on divers occasions, of his brutal behaviour to Potts and Curran, enough has been said to leave a tolerably correct opinion on all men's minds—in Ireland,

at least—of the character of this odious man, best known to his contemporaries as the "Dog in Office."

Let us see how he is made known to the people of England in the pages of the "Gentleman's Magazine."

"At such a time have we to deplore the loss of a man, who, highly gifted with natural talents, enlightened by various and extensive learning, steady in his principles, and not to be deterred by violence, or seduced by influence from his purpose, has for the last thirty years maintained the defence of the Constitution in Church and State in the City of Dublin—John Giffard." . . . . .

"To this account, I would add, that Mr. Giffard was the son of John Giffard, originally of Great Torrington, in Devonshire, the disinherited grandson of Francis Fane, granddaughter of Francis, the first Earl of Westmoreland of that name."

"Had the regular course of succession proceeded, Mr. Giffard's father (disinherited at twelve years of age) would have possessed the ample estates of Brightley and Halsbury, the latter of which had been in the name and family from the reign of Edward I."

"But his son, born in Ireland, left an orphan before he was two years old, and deprived of his mother (a daughter of the ancient and once regal family of McMurrough, or Murphy, of Oulatlierg, in the county of Wexford), had in his outset to contend with the impediments of poverty and depression, which a powerful

mind, stored by early application with deep and various learning, enabled him at length to overcome.

"Deriving nothing from his once opulent family but the consciousness of those high feelings which had actuated his forefathers, and the Fanes, the Windhams, and the Grenvilles, his ancestors by inter marriages, his adherence to the constitution was founded as well upon hereditary attachment as sound principle; and his conduct through life fulfilled the injunction of his loyal ancestor, 'to cling to the crown, even though it hung upon a bush.'

"With a power of eloquence not rivalled even in Ireland, he was, from his entry into public life, the leading member of the Corporation of Dublin; and for nearly five and twenty years had to contend against the wild and too popular tenets of Napper Tandy, until time and perseverance exposed the traitorous purposes of that fire-brand, and he was driven into exile. During the American war Mr. Giffard was the firm, but temperate supporter of the legislature. When danger threatened Ireland from a projected French invasion, he was amongst the very earliest of that glorious association (so little yet understood in England), the Volunteers of Ireland; it was at a meeting of a few friends at his house that the first company of Dublin Volunteers was formed, in 1778, and he continued an active member of that body, until by the introduction of Roman Catholics into the Volunteer ranks, contrary to their original constitution, mutual confidence was shaken, and happily the peace of 1780 rendered their longer existence unnecessary.

"In that year the government of Ireland, directed by Earl Temple (the late Marquis of Buckingham), testified its approbation of Mr. Giffard's conduct by giving him a lucrative office in the Irish Customs . . .

"In 1793, on the breaking out of the war, his loyal zeal induced him (at no inconsiderable loss of emolument) to enter into the City of Dublin Militia, of which he continued a captain until the peace of 1802, having served throughout the dreadful period of the rebellion, in 1798, in the most disturbed parts of Ireland.

"In 1798 the fury of rebellion fell most calamitously upon Mr. Giffard: his third son, William, to whom Lord Westmoreland (his distant kinsman) had given a lieutenancy in the 82nd regiment, was seized as he was travelling in a mail coach, by a band of traitors, and required by them to lead them against a neighbouring post, occupied by the King's troops; on his refusal, and that refusal being aggravated by his being known as the son of Mr. Giffard, he was savagely murdered on the spot.

"Mr. Giffard's nephew by marriage, the gallant Captain Ryan, was assassinated by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, whom he had arrested for high treason, with a dagger, which that wretched enthusiast kept constantly about his person; and John Martin, Esq., of Ballinaclash, in the county of Wexford, Mr. Giffard's brother-in-law, died of the hardships he endured whilst a prisoner to the rebels in the gaol of Wexford.

"In 1805 the Roman Catholics having once more

advanced their claims to parliament, Mr. Giffard moved the petition he had been accustomed to propose against the measure, which was agreed to by the corporation; and on the next day Mr. Giffard received notice that he was dismissed from the office in the customs, which he had held for twenty-two years.

"This attack upon the right to petition in parliament, had it been made upon the humblest retainer of opposition, would have excited a wild storm of patriotic indignation against Lord Hardwicke, whose act it was. But his lordship had then lately changed his opinions, and was, from a zealous supporter of the establishment, become what he has ever since been, an advocate for the Roman Catholics. The Corporation of Dublin, indeed, with dignity and firmness, pronounced this to be an act of oppression; and the Protestant gentlemen of Ireland remonstrated to Mr. Pitt against the Lord Lieutenant's proceedings. A prince of the blood, distinguished for his manly conduct and high talents, took up Mr. Giffard's cause as that of the loyal Protestants of Ireland; and the British minister avowed his determination to repair the injury which he had suffered . . .

"In 1807, upon the change of administration, Mr. Giffard was appointed by the Duke of Richmond and his secretary (now the Duke of Wellington), to the very respectable situation of Accountant-General of the Irish Customs, as a compensation for that which he had lost . . .

"In a few years after, Mr. Giffard became, by law, entitled to retire upon a salary of superannuation, which he enjoyed to his death . . .

"His powers of memory were astonishing. His favourite studies were the Scriptures, Shakespeare, and Milton; and from any of these he could recite any passage which could be called for; and after once hearing a speech, or a sermon, he could, with an exactness and facility truly surprising, furnish an accurate transcript.

"He died on the 5th of May, of a stricture in the urethra, which had affected him about two years. He was born in Dublin, February 14th, 1745-6, and was consequently in his 94th year. He has left a widow, two sons, and two daughters; the eldest son, the Hon. Hardinge Giffard, is Chief Justice of Ceylon; the second, Lees Stanley Giffard, a barrister, resident in London; Harriet, his eldest daughter, was married to the gallant Major George King, of the 7th Fusileers, killed in the unfortunate attack on New Orleans; and Mary, his second daughter, married the Rev. Richard Ryan, a gentleman who has, in Ireland, attained to considerable literary distinction.

"NORMANNUS."*

Never perhaps was Sylvanus Urban, or any other "fine old English gentleman" connected with periodical literature so egregiously imposed on, as the editor of the "Gentleman's Magazine," was deluded and mystified by "Normannus," alias Mr. Lees Stanley Giffard, at the commencement of that gentleman's career on the London Press.

It would be difficult to find, throughout all the writ-

* "Gentleman's Magazine," Vol. lxxxix., May, 1819, pages 481-2-3-4.

ings of Fernandez Mendez Pinto, and Sir John Mandeville, so many manifest, brazen fictions in the same compass as we find in the passages of this obituary notice relating to the descent, parentage, patriotism, piety, eloquence, and abilities of Mr. John Giffard.

The apotheosis of the dog in office is thus solemnly performed in the obituary of that most venerable of all English periodicals, the "Gentleman's Magazine."

To the men of England who reverence good government, who abominate the perversion of it to purposes of faction, to interests that are sordid and scandalously at variance with those of the people of the land that have been the victims of that perversion, I appeal for their judgment on that regime which lavished its honours and patronage, and bestowed power and authority, on such a man as John Giffard; and I ask them, is there not a large debt of justice due to the land that for many years was ruled for the benefit of a faction, the representation of which was this infamous man, John Giffard.

NOTICE OF DR. DUIGENAN.

The Right Honourable Patrick Duigenan, LL.D., was born in 1735 and died in 1816. He had been a member of the Irish Parliament for many years previously to its death, which he contributed zealously to the perpetration of, and moved the first resolution that was brought forward for its accomplishment. He was richly rewarded for his patricidal acts by various offices,

one of the most lucrative of which was that of Com missioner of Compensation to Irish B rough Proprietors, He was twice married,—first to a Roman Catholic lady, Miss Cusack, of the County Westmeath ; secondly, in 1807, to the widow of George Hepenstal, an attorney; had no issue by either marriage. At the time of his death he still held the offices of Judge of the Prerogative Court, and Advocate-General of the Court of Admiralty.

The author of "The Sketches of Irish Political Characters" (Lon: 1799) gives many curious details of the early career of the Champion of Protestant Ascendency.

"DR. PATRICK DUIGENAN.

"REPRESENTS THE BOROUGH OF ARMAGH.

"This civilian has lately, in his capacity of an Irish member of Parliament, rendered himself so very remarkable, that the following authentic summary of his rise and progress through life, cannot be unacceptable.

"The doctor has little to boast on the score of ancestry—he owes his birth to Paddy O'Dewegenan, a poor, but honest peasant, who derived a miserable subsistence from herding the cattle of a *pincing* master, on one of the bleakest mountains in the county of Leitrim.

"His father Paddy and Joan his mother were so strictly observant of the injunctions of father Thadee O'Malhern, their priest, that they would not for all the cattle on Slieve an Iran neglect one confession, or be

persuaded (could they even procure it) to eat a morsel of flesh meat on a Friday or Saturday.

"Patrick, our present hero, led the first twelve years of his life with his parents, and when able, acted as a barefooted assistant in attending the cattle. The highest ambition of an Irish peasant is, to see one of the family a priest, and with this view old O'D. provided a Spelling-book for young Paddy. Disabled, however, by the extremity of his poverty, from giving his son any further assistance, he wisely availed himself of a custom which had long produced many priests, and advised him to ramble about from one hedge-school to another as a *poor scholar*.*

"Young O'D. after rambling this way about six years, having scraped together some Latin, resolved to proceed to Munster, there to finish his education; in his way, he met a gentleman, of whom (saying he was a *poor scholar*) he begged alms. The gentleman, who was a Protestant clergyman, and master of a very respectable boarding-school, finding on examination that his petitioner had a tolerable knowledge of Latin, invited him to his house, where he humanely allowed him board, lodging, and instruction *gratis* ; his reverend patron did not rest his good offices here, but after having taught him more

* In Ireland it is a custom immemorially established, for those petty schoolmasters who teach in chapels, or temporary huts, *freely* to instruct such poor boys as come from *remote places*, and are unable to pay. The poor scholar, while he remains at the school, goes home night and night about with his schoolfellows, whose parents that can afford it occasionally supply him with a few old clothes, as well as food and lodging. This appears to be a faint emanation of the ancient custom in Ireland, so celebrated by historians, of supplying at the national expense all foreign students with meat drink, clothes, lodging, books, &c., &c.

Latin, and made him acquainted with a little Greek, promoted him to the situation of an under-assistant.

With his elevation, our hero, adopting new views, read his recantation, and changed his real name of O'Dewegenan, which he thought savoured too much of Popery, to the more Protestant appellation of Duigenan.

"Mr. Duigenan, as we must now call him, remained at this school, till by the benevolent aid of his master he acquired as much learning as enabled him to gain admission as a sizer to Trinity College, Dublin, where, conscious he was fighting for a livelihood, his application was so intense that, though unassisted by any extraordinary talents, he obtained a scholarship, and afterwards, in due time, a fellowship, then the highest point of ambition to which he could aspire.

"In the College of Dublin there are twenty-two fellows; of these one must be a lawyer, one a physician, and the remaining twenty clergymen. The lawyer's place was vacant when Mr. D. obtained his fellowship, and he was consequently entered and maintained at the college expense in one of the Inns of Court, till he was called to the Irish Bar.

"The doctor, having no longer the fear of expulsion before his eyes, wrote a rancorous but ill-penned book against the provost and his family. Mrs. Hutchinson, since Baroness Donoughmore, the provost's lady, and their daughters, could not, in their sex and numerous virtues, find a shield against his virulence. The crime against these ladies that provoked his scurrilous invec-

tives, was that of walking in the provost's own garden. This book he called 'Lachrymæ Academicæ.'

"Among the Irish Catholics it is universally observed that *kiln-dried** Protestants are peculiarly intolerant and hostile to the members of their former communion. Our doctor's letters, published under the signature of 'Theophilus,' against the Rev. Mr. O'Leary, and the whole tenor of his conduct, are strong proofs of the truth of this observation.

"The late Right Hon. Hely Hutchinson, Secretary of State, and also provost of the college, was a gentleman of the most polished manners and greatest amenity of disposition. Dr. Duigenan was equally remarkable for the contrary qualities; he is a man of the rudest manners and most intolerant principles. An acquaintance, late in life with gentlemen, has very seldom been able to remove the boorish clownishness arising from original meanness, and our doctor neither was, nor is, an exception to the observation. Two characters, so widely different could not agree, and the doctor threw himself into the arms of a party then in opposition to the provost. His new associates were, however, all gentlemen, and shew him so little countenance, that he found it convenient to resign his fellowship for the professorship of civil law, and an annual salary of £560.

"The point of view most to his advantage is that of a practising lawyer; his professional business has, for

* By *kiln-dried* Protestant is meant one who has read his recantation from the Church of Rome to that of England or Ireland.

many years, been considerable, and he holds distinguished rank, being the King's Advocate."

Sir Jonah Barrington, in his "Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation," observes:—

"This celebrated antagonist of the Irish Catholics, so far as invective and declamation could affect their interests, was Dr. Patrick Duigenan, Judge of the Prerogative Court of Ireland—a man whose name must survive so long as the feuds of Ireland shall be remembered, and whose singular conduct, on many points, was of a nature so inconsistent and irregular that, even now, when his race is run, and no further traits of his character can ever be developed, it is yet impossible to decide with certainty as to his genuine principles, if such he possessed, upon any one subject, religious or political.

"His father was parish clerk of St. Werburgh's Church, Dublin, but in what part of Ireland he originated, is still uncertain. He was educated in the parish school, and (as he told the author himself) was humourously christened *Paddy*, having been born on St. Patrick's day. He signalized himself as a scholar in the University of Dublin, of which he was chosen a fellow; he soon afterwards quarrelled with the provost, Mr. Hutchinson, and every person who did not coincide with his humours, and wrote a number of severe pamphlets, of which 'Lachrymæ Academicæ' and 'Pranceriana,' are the most notable; the first personally against the conduct of the provost and Sir John

Blaquiere, the second on a proposal of the provost to establish a riding house for the students. He was always at open war with some person during the whole course of his public life.

"He left the University, retaining the office of law professor, was shortly afterwards appointed King's Counsel, Judge of the Prerogative and Consistory Courts, King's Advocate to the High Court of Admiralty, one of Lord Castlereagh's Commissioners for *bribing Members of Parliament* (Post), and many other public offices, most of which he retained to his death. His income was very large, and he must have privately done many liberal and charitable acts, for though not extravagant, he left no considerable fortune behind him."

In April, 1816, Dr. Patrick Duigenan was gathered to his fathers. We find the descendant of an Irish Roman Catholic peasant Paddy Duigenan much glorified in the "Annual Register," in the Obituary Notices of that periodical for April, 1816. "The Right Honourable Patrick Duigenan, a Privy Counseller of Ireland and M.P. for the City of Armagh (died in London the 1st of April, aged 81) . . . Though descended from a Roman Catholic family, he distinguished himself by his violent opposition to the Catholic claims. He published various tracts on Irish politics, and from the places which he obtained, appears to have been regarded as an useful auxiliary in the Government of that Island."*

* Ann. Reg., Vol. LVIII, chron. p. 214.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1817, Vol. II., page 604, we find one of those amusing efforts of Irish Orangeism to bamboozle public opinion in England, on subjects affecting the character of its champions, which are so frequently to be met with in English periodicals. A correspondent (G. H. W.), evidently Irish, criticises severely the writer of an obituary notice of Dr. Duigenan in the "Annual Biography and Obituary" for 1817:

"In the article on Dr. Duigenan" (says the correspondent of the "Gentleman's Magazine") the writer inserts several vulgar mistatements relative to the supposed Papist origin of the Doctor. His father and grandfather, however, were certainly of the Established Protestant Church, and in a genteel though obscure line of life. His grandfather, Francis Duigenan, was a physician and a Protestant, though of name of aboriginal descent."

The writer of this vindication of the Protestanism of the Champion of Orangeism, does not venture to assert that Dr. Duigenan was an aboriginal Protestant, or at his death was one.

"His father and grandfather," he says, "were certainly Protestants."

Dr. Hamill, a venerable Catholic priest, of whose high qualities I have a very distinct recollection in my early days, stated to the late James Bernard Clinch, that Duigenan, to his knowledge, became a Roman Catholic, and, moreover, that he knew a friar who had a certain knowledge that Dr. Duigenan in his last illness was received into the Catholic Church.

"His father and grandfather," the writer in the "Gentleman's Magazine" says," were in a genteel though obscure line."

And in the next sentence, he adds, "his grandfather, Francis Duigenan, was a physician." But we are not told where.

In Grattan's Memoirs, Vol. IV., page 97, we find the following reference to Dr. Duigenan:

"Dr. Duigenan was descended from a country peasant of the name of O'Dewegenan. He was educated for the Roman Catholic priesthood, but being assisted by a Protestant clergyman, who kept a boarding-school, and who found in young O'Dewegenan an aptitude for learning, which he had contracted in the hedge schools, where he had been first instructed, he was advanced to the office of tutor in his establishment Upon this, O'Dewegenan changed his name and religion. He entered Trinity College, obtained a scholarship, and then a law-fellowship. His propensities here discovered themselves, and he began the practice of abuse."

In June, 1812, a practical joke was played on Dr. Duigenan in the smoking-room adjoining the Old House of Commons, which gave rise to some ludicrous epigrams in the Irish periodicals of the time.

The worthy Doctor one evening, when a debate on the Catholic question was expected to come on, had occasion to see a friend of his in the smoking-room, and, while waiting, he fell asleep. The favourable opportunity was seized of chalking the figure of a large cross on the Doctor's hat by some wag.

Dr. Duigenan, when his nap was over, hastened to the house, and entered it to the great amusement of the members of both sides, with the emblem of Popery he so much abhorred conspicuously displayed on his hat. When Duigenan's attention was at length directed to the cause of all the amusement of the house at his expense, he is said to have sworn he would be revenged of the Popish miscreants who had done this act.

On the occasion of the death of the very notorious, bigot, and champion in the English House of Commons of Protestant Ascendancy, Dr. Patrick Duigenan, a practical joke, attended with very ludicrous circumstances, was played off on his friend and brother champion of the Established Church, and Orangeism in alliance with it, in the Dublin Corporation, Mr. John Giffard. "Poor Paddy Duigenan" died in London the 1st of April, 1816. Of all days in the year *the First of April* was an unfortunate one for a ridiculous personage like Paddy to take his departure from this world. On the occasion above referred to, the genius of April day foolery took possession of the mind of a countryman of Paddy Duigenan, who had been, for several years subsequently to 1800, "on the press" in London—Vincent Dowling, a fellow of infinite jest, and rendered not a little renowned for his humorous talents, especially in his own country, by his comico-satirical anti-unionist publication in 1799 and 1800, purporting to be reports of the speeches on the Union Question in the Irish Parliament, entitled "Proceedings of the Pimlico Parliament." Vincent Dowling, who in 1817 was a reporter of first-

rate eminence on a London morning paper, got intelligence of Dr. Duigenan's death the same day that it occurred, and, being a practical man and a joker, though not very sanctimonious, he thought he would "improve on the lesson the occasion offered." So he sat down and wrote to his very intimate friend, relative, and godson Patrick Vincent Fitzpatrick a long and elaborate account of "The melancholy circumstances of the last Moments and Death of Dr. Patrick Duigenan, M.P."

At the end of the long and circumstantial details of the last moments of Dr. Duigenan, it was asserted that strange rumours had got into circulation respecting the religious sentiments of this celebrated champion of the Established Church for some days preceding his decease.

It was stated that the people living in a house adjoining that in which the Doctor died, during the period of his last illness, had observed on several occasions a tall, thin, austere, mysterious looking person, of reserved appearance, timid aspect, and of a foreign mien, dressed in black, very like a Popish priest (a Jesuit in disguise), enter the house in which the worthy Doctor died. It was found out that this mysterious personage, whenever he entered Dr. Duigenan's lodging, was left alone with the dying man.

None of the attendants knew who he was, or what his business was; but there was a general impression on the minds of all, it was for nothing good. On the occasion of his last visit, which was followed immediately by the death of Dr. Duigenan, no sooner did the attendants

enter the room of the poor gentleman, then lying dead, than the olfactory organs of those attendants were offended by an intolerable smell of brimstone, and which gradually diffused itself over the whole house, even to the hall door, which that mysterious gentleman in black had just passed.

P. V. Fitzpatrick was fortunately the right man in the right place to have received such a communication, and to deal with it. He took it immediately to the office of "The Dublin Chronicle," in Suffolk Street, and committed it to the hands of the editor, his intimate friend, Mr. Æneas McDonnell. Æneas at a glance saw the value of the "ingenious device" for insertion in that evening's paper. He immediately had placards set up in front of the office of his paper, and also in front of King William's Statue in College Green, referring to that evening's Chronicle for a full and true account—in large capitals—of the "Death and Death Bed Conversion To The Roman Catholic Religion of Dr. Patrick Duigenan, M.P., and LL.D."

Orangedom was bewildered at this dreadful intelligence. The following morning, at the office of Giffard's paper, "The Dublin Journal," an immense flag was exhibited from the drawing-room window of the office in Parliament Street, to the following effect:

"The greatest lie that ever emanated from the lying Press of Popery, is the audacious falsehood that Dr. Duigenan, the staunch friend of Protestantism, abandoned his faith, and died a Roman Catholic."

Notwithstanding Giffard's denial of the statement in the "Chronicle," the rumour obtained credence with the Orthodox Protestants, who were well acquainted with Dr. Duigenan. They thought in the man's character and career there were grounds for believing that the report was not unfounded; and in two or three days' time, when the remains of Dr. Duigenan were brought over for interment in Dublin, and a public funeral was expected, a very private funeral took place, it having been determined on, at a private meeting of the Corporation, that no procession of the Members of the Municipal Council should take place on that occasion.

This very successful practical joke was one of the very many similar ingenious devices of as true and thorough an Irishman, in all that relates to wit, humour, high intelligence, and an ardent love of country, as ever left his native land—Vincent Dowling.

After a long and honourable connection with the newspaper press in his own land and in England of upwards of 40 years, Vincent Dowling died in London, at his house in Kentish Town, the 29th of March, 1825, aged 69 years, in affluent circumstances, and in high estimation with people of all parties connected with newspaper literature in London.

CHAPTER III.

IRISH PROVINCIAL NEWSPAPERS. — EARLIEST JOURNALS PRINTED IN CORK, WATERFORD, LIMERICK, KILKENNY, BELFAST, &c.

Cork Newspapers.

The chronological order which has been observed throughout the former volume has been departed from in dealing with Irish provincial newspapers, printed previously to 1800, for the purpose of disposing of all the provincial papers consecutively, and preventing the necessity of mixing up Dublin papers of importance and high character with provincial ones, frequently of a very different kind.

How much earlier provincial newspapers existed in England and Scotland than in Ireland, the following data respecting the origin of English and Scotch papers will plainly shew.

The "Lincoln Mercury" commenced in 1695; the "York Courant" appeared prior to 1700; the "Worcester Journal" in 1709, the "Newcastle Courant" in

1711. In Scotland, the first general newspaper appears to be the "Edinburgh Caledonian Mercury," published in 1660. Previously, however, the "Edinburgh Gazette" was published "by authority." The first number of the "Edinburgh Courant," now the "Edinburgh Evening Courant," appeared, "published by authority," in 1705; "Edinburgh Gazette, or Scots Postman," in March, 1715; the "Norwich Postman" appeared in 1706, "price one penny—a half-penny not refused." The "Norwich Courant, or Weekly Packet," price three farthings.

At the time the "Dublin Journal" first appeared, in 1725, there were very few Irish provincial newspapers in existence, or had then appeared. The earliest of them were printed in Cork.

Archdeacon Cotton, in his "Typographical Gazetteer," second Edition, published at Oxford in 1831, gives the following account of the earliest printed works that had issued from the Cork press which he had seen: one tract, entitled, "Inquisitio in fidem Christianorum hujus seculi authore, Rogero Boyle, 12mo, Corcagia, 1664."

But several years earlier Dr. Cotton adds, that he had seen certain acts of Roman Catholic Prelates assembled at Clonmacnoise had been printed in Cork in 1650, and reprinted in Dublin.

And in the long interval between the appearance of the second edition of the "Typographical Gazetteer," and the second and last series of it, published in 1866, the author was enabled to refer to printing done at

Cork of an earlier date than any of the productions above mentioned.

"Cork (Corcagia—in Gaelic and Irish books, Corcuigh). The Diocesan Library at Cashel contains two specimens of Cork printing earlier than those mentioned in my first series. One is a broadside of the year 1648, entitled: 'A Speech made by the Lord Lieutenant Generall of the Kingdom of Ireland, to the Generall Assembly of the Confederate Catholiques of the City of Kilkenny, at the conclusion of the Peace. Printed at Corcke, and are to be sold at Roche's Buildings, without South Gate, 1648.' The other is a quarto tract, 'Scripture Evidence for Baptizing the Infants of Covenanters, produced at Cork, in two sermons (by C. D. Worth, Dean of Cork). Printed for T. Taylor, widow, and are to be sold at her shop in Cork. 148 pp.'

"Ware, in his 'Writers of Ireland,' mentions a Sermon by Dean Worth, preached at the funeral of Richard Boyle, Archbishop of Tuam, printed here in 1644. Stewart's Catalogue (London), 1863, contained 'A Declaration of the Lord Lieutenant General of Ireland, for the Settlement of the Protestant Religion, &c., printed at Cork in 1648.' In 1679, William Smith printed here 'Archbishop Ussher's Prophecies concerning the Rebellion of 1644. 4to." ("Typog. Gaz." 2nd. Ser. Oxf. 1866. P. 49.

This is the earliest printing in Cork that Archdeacon Cotton has any knowledge of. I am indebted to the eminent Irish ecclesiastical archæologist and historian,

the Rev. Dr. Reeves, for the following notice of one of the earliest Cork printed productions:

"The Declaration and ingagement of the Protestant Army, in the Province of Mounster, under the command of the Baron Inchiquin. 4to. Cork, 1648."

This declaration Dr. Reeves informs me exists in the Bodleian library. He says he was not aware, till he became acquainted with it, that Cork had taken an early place in our typographical annals.

The best authority on any subject relating to Cork and its history, the late Mr. John Windele, in reply to some inquiries of mine, sent me a work of his containing all the information he could obtain on the subject, and was good enough to place at my disposal several of the newspapers referred to by him in his "Notices of Cork and its vicinity."

"It is not known," says Mr. Windele, "when the first Cork newspaper appeared The earliest seen by us was the 'Freeholder,' which circulated in 1716. It was a small, single sheet, 4to. paper. The next was the 'Cork News Letter,' small folio, double columns. In 1723 it had reached its 828th number, and continued to appear in 1724 and 5.

"The 'Medley,' also a 4to. sized newspaper, followed, published weekly, on Thursdays, by George Harrison, in Meeting-house Lane. Its first number is dated 1738. The articles consist of a series of light papers or essays, on the plan of the 'Spectator.' Of local news there was but little; but of British and foreign, a considerable

portion. Advertisements, births, deaths, and marriages filled the remainder of the sheet."

In the same year, 1738, was published the "Serio-Jocular Medley, printed by Andrew Walsh, near the corner of Castle Street." *

Of the most important of the early Cork journals briefly referred to by Mr. Windele, I proceed to give some fuller details than are to be found in his list.

"George Swiney's Corke Journal."

"Printed by Eugene Swiney, near the Exchange, Cork." 1754.

This paper, folio size, four pages of sixteen columns, has twelve ordinarily filled with advertisements. In about a quarter of a column the interests, news, politics, and polemics of Ireland were generally done. Several numbers for that year, 1765 (Vol XII.), are in my possession. The latest number of this journal I have seen in any collection is for August 31st, 1769.

"The Cork Evening Post."

"Printed and published by Phineas and George Bagnell, Castle Street, Cork." 1755—1774.

This newspaper, published twice weekly, made its appearance in 1755. The earliest number in my

* Windele's "Notices of the City of Cork and its Vicinity." 12mo. Cork. 1848. P. 162.

possession is for July 17th, 1758; the latest number I have seen of this journal is No. 66 of the nineteenth volume, for August 18th, 1774. The size of that number is folio, four pages, printed on each side. Price twopence.

The paper, printing, and arrangement of the matter of this journal from 1769 were superior to those of the Dublin journals of the same period. The whole of the Irish news of the "Cork Evening Post" consisted of accidents, robberies, fires, arrivals and departures by the packets to and from England. Politics there are none in this paper. Of its twelve columns, advertisements occupy, on an average, seven columns.

"The Cork Evening Post."

"Printed and published by George and James Knight, Castle Street, Cork. Price two-pence." 1754—1796.

In the number of the "Cork Evening Post" for October 3rd, 1782, we find an account of a general meeting of the Cork Union Volunteers, Captain John Gregg in the chair, held the 29th of September, 1782, in the City Court House, when a series of Resolutions were passed condemnatory of any attempt to raise troops in Ireland other than the volunteers.

1st Resolution. "That we consider the volunteer forces of Ireland fully adequate to its defence."

2nd Resolution. "That we consider the scheme of levying fencible corps destructive to the volunteer

cause, tending to increase the undue influence of the Crown," &c.

3rd Resolution. "That this corps (of volunteers) must desist from their hitherto successful endeavours in raising the seamen granted by Parliament until the obnoxious plan of (forming) fencible regiments be abolished."

4th Resolution. "That we have so great a confidence in the honour and political principles of each other, we think it unnecessary to declare that any member who should disgrace the character of a volunteer by sinking into a fencible is unworthy of our ranks.

"Published by order,

"James Gregg, *Secretary*."

The "Cork Evening Post," printed by James and John Knight, in Castle Street, is in my possession, from 1781 to 1793. It was greatly improved in all respects —type, paper, tone, and spirit—from 1781, and seems to have partaken of the new influence that Grattan brought to bear on the intellect and periodical literature of his country.

"The Cork Chronicle, or Universal Register."

"Printed and published by George Busteed." 1764.

The only number I have seen of this journal is in my possession, No. 31, Vol. II., for 10th February, 1765,

wherein the following first act of a tragedy ending in a judicial murder of a Popish priest is recorded in large type:—

"PROCLAMATION.

"Whereas Nicholas Sheehy, Popish priest, of Shanraghan, in the county of Tipperary, stands indicted at an assizes and general gaol delivery held for the said county, the twenty-eighth day of March, for High Treason and Rebellion:

"And whereas the said Nicholas Sheehy has since absconded, and we have received information upon oath that he is concealed in some part of the kingdom, and has since been concerned in several treasonable practices to raise a rebellion in this kingdom: We, the Lord Justice and Council, do therefore hereby publish and declare, that if any person or persons do, within the space of six calendar months from the date of this our Proclamation, apprehend the said Nicholas Sheehy, and lodge him in any one of his Majesty's gaols in this kingdom, such person or persons shall receive as a reward the sum of three hundred pounds sterling; and we do hereby strictly charge and command all Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and all other his Majesty's officers, civil and military, and also all others his Majesty's loving subjects, that they do use their utmost endeavours to have the said Nicholas Sheehy apprehended.

"Given at the Council Chamber in Dublin, February 16, 1765.

"Bowes, C. Kildare, Westmeath, Grandison, Carrick, Arran, Phil. Tisdale, John Gore, Rich. Aston, Edwd. Willis, Wm. Fownes, Ant. Malone, A. Trevor, Nath. Clements, C. Gardiner, Ben Burton, Francis Andrews, John Hely Hutchinson.

"God Save the King."

"The Cork Chronicle, or Free Intelligencer."

"Printed and published by John Busteed, Paul-street, Cork." 1764—1768.

"The Cork Chronicle" (full folio size, four pages, printed on each side), made its first appearance in 1764, and was in existence September 30, 1768.

Any attempt that was made at political writing in this paper was a bad imitation of that of the "Freeman's Journal." Of twelve columns which "The Cork Chronicle" contained, six were taken up with advertisements.

"The Hibernian Chronicle."

"Printed and published by William Flynn, at the Shakspear, near the Exchange, Cork." 1768—1801.

This Journal, published twice weekly, made its appearance in 1768, in quarto, and subsequently in folio size, four pages, sixteen columns; price three half pence.

The latest number I have seen of this paper is the first of the twenty-third volume for January 1, 1801, in which year the proprietor died, and his journal with him. This paper professed to advocate no particular interests; but its leaning, however, was to Irish Protestant Ascendency politics.

The last number above referred to, was printed by James Haly for William Flynn; and the journal that sprung from the ashes of Flynn's "Hibernian Chronicle," namely, "The Cork Mercantile Chronicle," was printed and published by the same James Haly.

This excellent journal of William Flynn, in which appeared several productions of Henry Sheares, the editor, the father of Henry and John Sheares (victims of the implacable resentment of Lord Chancellor Clare), was first published in 1768. The leading article of each number was generally an essay, after the manner of the "Letters on several subjects," by Sir Henry FitzOsborne, Bart., the second edition of which, in 12mo., was published in Dublin, by Faulkner, in 1749.

A volume of this edition is in my possession, with the autograph of Henry Sheares, and the date 1750 appended to it.

In 1771 William Flynn published in Cork, in a separate form, a selection of the essays which appeared in "The Hibernian Chronicle." This reprint of them, in one vol, 12mo., 274 pages, is entitled "The Modern Monitor; or, Flynn's Speculations."

The volume is now very scarce, and rarely to be met with.

The principal contributors were Henry Sheares, Mr. Longfield, Mrs. Gray, Mrs. Pack, and Miss Waterhouse. Their names, however, were not affixed to their pieces.

The writers of the several essays contained in this volume, which first appeared in Flynn's newspaper, called "The Hibernian Chronicle," under various signatures: L., N., Cleora, Y., Z., X., F., Crito, Philogynes, Psychiatros; A., Tim Tender, W., Clarinda, Q., Y., Flavia Thalestris, O., T. Fearful, Censor, M., A., P. Q., Tom Trotter.

Of some of the persons whose articles bear the signatures above-mentioned, the names are given (on good authority) in the reprint of the essays.

The practice of pirating, in Ireland, works printed and published in England of notable merit or success, was diligently carried into effect in the case of all the essays of Addison, Steele, and Johnson, Goldsmith, Osborne, &c. The "Freeholder" of Addison was pirated by one Dublin publisher; the "Spectator" by another; "The Tatler" by a third; "The Craftsman" by a fourth.

The publication, in one volume, 12mo, of essays, entitled "Letters on several subjects," by the late Sir Henry FitzOsborne, Bart., published from the copies found among his papers, printed by George Faulkner, in Essex-street, &c., Dublin, 1748, is particularly deserving of attention.

On comparing the subjects of several of the essays of FitzOsborne and Sheares (the same subjects, be it borne

in mind, treated by both), the sentiments and style of both writers, I have come to the conclusion that Fitz-Osborne's letters on "The Relief of the Distressed," on "Cruelty to Animals," on "Friendship," on "The Belief in a Particular Providence," on "Providing for our own Happiness by contributing to the happiness of others (the seventy-first letter), have suggested the subjects which Henry Sheares, the elder, has made the themes of those admirable essays of his, some of which we find re-published in "The Modern Monitor, or Flynn's Speculations," in 1770.

Henry Sheares, the elder, had been an eminent banker in Cork; and from 1762 to 1767, sat in the Irish parliament for the borough of Cloghnakilty. He was a man of considerable learning and abilities; and whether as a political writer, or as a literary essayist, his talents appear to have been of the highest order.

His conduct in parliament in a session of memorable interest, obtained for him the general respect of his countrymen. His literary essays, which he was in the habit of publishing in the periodicals, from 1710 to 1776, chiefly under the signature of "Agricola" and "The Modern Monitor," would do honour to any writer of the present day. One of these, an Essay on Forgiveness, exhibits the finest feelings of Christian benevolence, combined with literary talents highly cultivated.

At the expiration of sixty years the humanity of Henry Sheares is still felt and appreciated in his native city. The Society for the Relief of Persons confined for Small

Debts, was one of those institutions which owed its being to his benevolence, in the year 1777. But the character of this most amiable man I find so fully, and I believe justly, set forth in one of the periodicals for the year 1776, the year of his decease, that such a memorial, I am sure, of one who was the Howard of his native place, cannot be unacceptable to the reader, or irrelevant to my subject. The "Hibernian Chronicle," printed in Cork, by Mr. William Flynn, speaks in the following terms, on the subject of Mr. Sheares's decease:—

"He is gone for ever from amongst us. I never held a pen on a more melancholy occasion; being neither able to remember his life and virtues without veneration, nor to mention his name but with tears. The city of Cork has had its chief ornament torn from it; his wife has lost the husband who adored her; his children, numerous and inexperienced, the wing that covered them; his friends, a gentleman of noble endowments and liberal affections; the whole community, a man from whose pen they derived both profit and pleasure, instruction and entertainment. As a husband, a father, a friend, and a citizen, he might be esteemed a most perfect model of imitation. No relation did he abuse; nor was he capable of abusing. His life was not only free from faults that invite censure, but filled with actions that deserve praise. In him, youth was a preparation for manhood—manhood for age, and age for immortality. In times that nearly touched the extreme of corruption and barbarity—at an age when licentious-

ness is scarcely deemed a vice, this enlightened character exhibited an uncommon example of assiduity in the cultivation of his talents—of moderation and refinement in the choice of his pleasures. Accordingly, the labours of his youth blossomed in the honours of his age. From Parliament, where his distinguished abilities might have raised him to the highest posts of power or profit, he chose to retire with a moderate requital of his services; thinking the tumults of ambition, the disquietudes that attend, and the disappointments that cross it, to be well exchanged for the endearments of love, the enjoyments of friendship, the discharge of humane and social duties, the pursuits of industry, and the nobler pleasures that result from the improvements of reason, and the exercises of religion. In public he was honoured and admired; in private respected and beloved. His understanding and virtues ensured him an esteem and authority which no station alone could command—no rank could procure. On the few whose hearts he had tried, he bestowed an unlimited confidence and affection. To the rest of mankind, particularly to those who needed it most, he imparted a share of the blessings which Heaven had poured profusely upon him. He was always endeavouring to relieve the distresses of the indigent—to redress the injuries of the oppressed. The charitable institutions which do honour to the city of Cork, particularly the Society for the Relief of Persons imprisoned for Small Debts are principally indebted to his inventive hu-

manity for their rise, and to his activity for their countenance. He saw into the human heart, but with the meekness of a Christian—not the morosemess of a cynic. His contempt for the vices of the world did not extinguish his pity for their sufferings. When he wrote, instruction was incessantly flowing from his pen. To dissipate the clouds of vice, to check the wanderings of error, to enlighten the darkness of ignorance, to animate the slow, to refresh the faint, and to confirm the persevering in the tasks of virtue and benevolence, was the perpetual employment and delight of a mind intent on the glory and perfection of its species. For this he was eminently qualified; not less by the excellence of his heart than by the superiority of his understanding. The essays with which he obliged the public through this paper, bespoke him the generous friend of mankind, the steady assertor and advocate of virtue, the ingenious reasoner, and the liberal religionist. It would be presumption in me to decide on his merit, compared with other writers of this class; yet, in my opinion, no moralist—not even Mr. Addison—has excelled him in this species of composition. I will not enter into a detail of his other excellent qualities. Let it be sufficient to say that he is now bringing to perfection that mind in Heaven which he cultivated for the honour of God, and the advantage of his fellow creatures, on earth."

"A. A."

"THE HIBERNIAN MORNING POST, OR LITERARY CHRONICLE."

"Published by John Busteed, Castle Street, Cork. Twice weekly. Price 2d." 1776.

This paper, folio size, four pages printed on each side made its first appearance in 1776, and appears to have died out in a short time. Its politics were high Tory, but the smallness of them rendered them of little importance.

"THE CORK GENERAL ADVERTISER."

"Printed and published by Thomas Saunders Knox, in Castle Street, Cork." 1776—1778.

The first number of this paper was published on the 10th of October, 1776. It was printed on good paper, full folio size, four pages, in 12 columns. Price three halfpence.

In matter, style, arrangement, and appearance, it certainly was a great improvement on all its predecessors in Cork, and it may be said in Munster. Its politics and polemics were of the Tory Protestant Ascendancy Order. The last number I have seen of this journal is for June 25th, 1778.

"THE CORK JOURNAL."

"Printed and Published by Thomas White and Co., opposite The Exchange, Cork." 1778.

The first number of the "Cork Journal" (size, full folio, four pages, 12 columns; price three half-pence) was published June 4th, 1778.

In their address to the public, the proprietors declare they belong to no party, and purpose to devote their journal to no objects but those of truth and public utility. This paper was published twice weekly. The last number I have seen of it is for November 9th, 1778.

"The Cork Weekly Journal."

"Printed and Published by Robert Dobbyn, Castle Street, Cork. Price Three half-pence." 1779—1780.

This weekly paper (folio size, four pages, 12 columns) made its first appearance in January, 1779.

It appears to have been a revival in a weekly form of White's "Cork Journal," but with a considerable deal more of national feeling, tone, and spirit than its predecessors exhibited. Whoever undertakes to collect the volunteer lyrics, songs, and odes of the citizen soldiers, will have to search the columns of "The Cork Weekly Journal" for some of the best of them. The last number I have seen of this journal is for February 21st, 1780.

"The Cork Gazetteer, or General Advertiser."

"Printed and Published by Jones and Co., for the Proprietor, at the Exchange Buildings, Cork." 1789—1797.

This paper (four pages, price Twopence half-penny), published twice weekly, made its appearance in 1789.

In November, 1796, it is described as "Printed by D. Driscol, No. 10, Grattan Street, Cork."

In the "Cork Gazette" of April 30, 1794, the public are informed that the Proprietor has been thrown into prison by the authorities for disseminating in his journal those constitutional principles which Locke and Sydney maintained and asserted; and that the society of The Friends of The Liberty of the Press had started a subscription for that reverend gentleman, "precluded as he was by his imprisonment from the exercise of his clerical functions."

In the number of "The Cork Gazette and General Advertiser" for November 12, 1796, the name of a new printer of the paper appears—D. Driscol, No. 10, Grattan Street, Cork. That name is connected with a prosecution for libel, a conviction, and lengthened imprisonment.

In the "Cork Gazette" for the 15th February, 1797, the Proprietor and Printer, Mr. D. Driscol, informed his readers that legal proceedings had been instituted against him by the Government.

In the same journal for September 16th, 1797, Mr. Driscol informs the public that, after seven years' devotion of his time and labour to what he believed to be the advocacy of sound, just, and constitutional principles, and the interests of Ireland, he was necessitated to abandon his paper, and therefore from that time it would appear no more.

So ended "The Cork Gazette and General Advertiser" the 16th September, 1797.

"The New Cork Evening Post."

"Published by James and Henry Knight, Castle Street, Cork." 1791—1810.

This journal is a new series of "The Cork Evening Post," with a slightly altered title. The printers and publishers of the old paper continued in the same position in connexion with the new series.

It commenced in 1791. The latest number I have seen of it is for September 10th, 1810.

Like all the Post Union Journals, "The New Cork Evening Post" for the last nine years of its existence was utterly destitute of spirit, energy, and manliness of tone or character; it was flat, stale, dull, and unprofitable. The curse of the Union on everything intellectual and national was on it.

"The Cork Packet."

"Printed and published by J. Connor, for the Proprietor, 17, Castle Street, Cork." 1793.

The first number of this journal, published twice weekly, appeared January 13th, 1793, for the first time, and probably for the last. What the objects of the founder were in establishing this paper, it would be extremely difficult to say Whether he was a downright fanatic, a red republican, a fierce democrat, an exceed-

ingly zealous and dangerous patriot, or a hireling scribe of the Government of the day, or a half mad man, it is by no means easy to ascertain from his address to the public, and his articles.

"THE CORK GAZETTE."

"Printed by T. Driscol, Cork." 1793—1794.

The proprietor and publisher of this journal, Mr. Driscol, in the early part of 1794 was prosecuted for a seditious libel; convicted, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. He was liberated in 1796.

"THE CORK COURIER."

"Printed and published by Anthony Edwards, 6, Castle Street, Cork." 1794.

"The Cork Courier," owned and edited by a man of literary tastes, but of very different politics from those of the editor and owner of "The Cork Gazette," Mr. Driscol, made its appearance July 23rd, 1794. The size and price of "The Courier" were the same as those of "The Gazette."

The first number commences with an excellent article "On the Advantages of Periodical Performances," from which I am induced to place the following passages before my readers:

"It is not by the social principle that man is essentially distinguished from other animals; nor by his saga-

city in calling in the aid of multitudes to add to his individual strength: it is to the faculty of communicating ideas from one to another, and the accumulation of knowledge, that, in a course of ages, this necessarily produces that he principally owes the superiority he now so conspicuously holds over all other animals on this globe; and from that circumstance alone derives that irresistible power, by which all the animate objects in nature are subjected to his sway; and by which the elements themselves are made to minister to his will.

"It follows from these premises, that whatever tends to facilitate the communication of ideas between man and man, must have a direct tendency to exalt the human species to a higher degree of eminence than it could otherwise have attained. This, the art of printing has done in a very conspicuous manner. Men are thus brought, as it were, to converse together, who could never otherwise have known that such persons existed on the globe; the knowledge that has been acquired in one country is thus communicated to another; and the accumulated experience of former ages is preserved for the benefit of those that are to come. But the effects of this art would be greatly circumscribed were not methods contrived for diffusing the knowledge very generally among mankind; and among all the modes that have been devised for that purpose, no one has been so effectual as that of periodical performances. Periodical performances, therefore, though apparently an humble kind of writing, are in effect the most proper means that ever

yet have been contrived for raising human nature to its highest degree of exaltation, and for conferring upon man a more conspicuous degree of dignity above all other animals, and a more extended power over the elements, and other objects of nature, than he could otherwise hope to obtain."

Poor Mr. Edwards, when he penned this last paragraph in praise of periodicals, little dreamt of the uses to which literary ones at least were destined to be turned, converted into publications for the diffusion of sensational novel literature, not of useful and rationally entertaining knowledge.

"The Cork Courier" was not long-lived; when it died, Anglican-Imperial interests and Protestant ascendancy principles lost a strenuous advocate.

"The Harp of Erin."

"It is new strung and will be heard."

"Printed and published by John Daly, 16, Patrick Street, Cork." 1798.

The first number of this organ of the United Irishmen of Munster was published the 7th of March, 1798. This paper appeared twice weekly; the size was full folio, four pages, 16 columns; price threepence.

It is stated that John and Henry Sheares were connected with the establishment of this journal; Roger O'Connor certainly was.

In the address of the editor and proprietor of this paper to the public in the first number, it is quite evident and obvious that they counted full surely on the success of the outbreak of the Rebellion that had been determined on by the Leinster Executive of the Society of the United Irishmen, to take place on the 20th of March, 1798, simultaneously throughout the country

Dr. Drennan's admirable lyric," The Wake of William Orr," written in Ballymore, October 1797, appeared in the first number of " The Harp of Erin;" Dr. Drennan's no less celebrated lines, " When Erin first rose," &c., appeared in the same number. Some of the most notable articles published in " The Press " newspaper, of Dublin, were republished in " The Harp of Erin." The fourth number of this paper, published the 17th of March, 1798, is the latest I have seen.

" The Cork Herald, or Munster Advertiser."

" Printed and published by John Conor for the proprietor, Caroline Street, Cork." 1798.

It was an ominous period for a new political journal to make its appearance in Ireland, the year of the reign of terror in all its provinces. The first number of " The Cork Herald" was published February 10th, 1798.

This paper of four pages (of the size of " The Freeman's Journal," when a quarter of a century before that date it was sold for one penny) was threepence. The imposition of the penny stamp duty imposed in the

interval would only account for a third of that increased price.

The proprietor sets out with an address to his subscribers, wherein he tells them, prudently, no doubt, that "he is determined to maintain a cool and moderate medium in politics, disdaining, as he does, the influence of any party, religious or political. The principal part of his labours will be devoted to the commercial interests of this city."

The editor and proprietor was evidently loooking out for tempestuous weather, and, like a wise man of his generation, was resolved to ride out the storm at anchor in the safe harbour of "parish politics," local interests, and privileged polemics. When the rebellion was put down, and the leaders hanged or expatriated, the editor and proprietor, a cool and moderate medium man, who disdained "the influence of any party, religious or political," denounced all those "hired assassins," "mercenary advocates," "dangerous and despicable champions of the mob," "demagogues whose frothy effusions are indeed still heard, and whose cowardice is still observed (this is intended for Grattan) who opposed the Union." Such was the tone of the miserable creature who owned and edited "The Cork Herald" in the latter part of December, 1798.

When the dirty work of denunciation of such men as Grattan, and advocacy of such measures as the Union was done, "The Cork Herald" "gave up the ghost." In the last number of that "wretched rag" for January

12th, 1798, the editor and proprietor addressed the public in these terms: "Called into existence at a very awful and dangerous crisis, when a bloody, bigoted, and most unnatural rebellion threatened to involve this country in a torrent of loyal blood, it was the proud boast of the 'Cork Herald,' that the dreadful atrocities which were at once the scourge and disgrace of our neighbouring counties, and the disposition which appeared but too manifest in some traitors of this city to introduce the same bloody system amongst us, could neither overawe the resolution, or intimidate the exertion which we engaged in the cause of loyalty and good order. . . .

"Happily the hour of terror is at an end, and the 'Herald' may, with honour to itself, resign its pretensions, in favour of a strictly commercial paper, which this city stands so much in need of, and which is shortly to be established on a highly liberal and extensive plan; the proprietor, therefore, informs his friends that this will be the concluding number of the 'Herald,' and begs leave to remark that it will be necessary for those who intend to subscribe to the 'Cork Advertiser; or, Commercial Register,' to give such notice as may prevent a disappointment in the delivery of the first number of that paper."

There is something so Higginslike in the tone of the observations of the editor of "The Cork Herald," that it is impossible to get over the unpleasant impression made on one's mind by the truculency of the style of the

man, that he was a secret service money hireling of the government. All the miscreants of this class of venal scribes, strange to say, talk and write in the same unnatural, unreliable manner, that inspires feelings of treachery and falsehood even before actual proof of perfidy has been obtained.

"The Cork Herald" merged into "The Cork Constitution," a Conservative paper of large circulation, that still exists.

"The Cork Advertiser; or, Commercial Advertiser."

"Printed by E. N. Morgan for himself and other proprietors, Patrick Street, Cork. Price fourpence." 1799.

This paper made its appearance in January, 1799. It was, as its name imported, a commercial journal, inserting, however, English parliamentary debates in its columns, and seldom venturing or presuming to make any comment on them.

WATERFORD NEWSPAPERS.

The Waterford Newspaper Periodical Press, prior to 1800.

Archdeacon Cotton, in the last edition of his "Typographical Gazetteer" (Oxford, 8vo., 1866) makes mention of the introduction of printing into Waterford, and of the existence of tracts and broadsides printed in that

city, some said to be printed so early as 1648. In the preceding volume sufficient details have been given on this subject.

The Rev. R. H. Ryland, in his "History, Topography, and Antiquities of the County and City of Waterford," (London, 8vo., Murray, 1824), at page 208, gives an account of the newspapers of Waterford, which, considering the historical nature of his work, is rather too succinct. That account occupies only one page and a half. Mr. Ryland, however, has done that which no other Waterford Divine, or gentleman of any creed or profession, or avocation of any kind, with one exception, has attempted: he has given some account of the political periodical toleration of his native city.

He has fallen, however, into a serious mistake. He says:—"The first newspaper in this country was commenced in the year 1641, under the title of 'Warranted Tidings from Ireland.'"

This is altogether erroneous: the pamphlet referred to was not a newspaper. It had none of the distinguishing characteristics of a newspaper.

And yet he refers correctly to another journal, "The Waterford Flying Post," as the earliest newspaper known to have been printed and published in Waterford, in 1729.

"The Waterford Flying Post,"

"Containing the most material news, both Foreign and Domestic. Printed in Waterford." 1729.

This journal is the earliest one printed and published in Waterford. It appeared twice weekly, printed on a sheet of coarse paper, foolscap size, price one half-penny, or a shilling a quarter. I have never seen a number of this paper. Mention of it is made in "The Typographical Gazetteer," Ed. 1866, page 295. Ryland, in his History of Waterford, also makes mention of it. One number only of this journal is known to exist, for August 21, 1729. The title is surmounted by the royal arms, and those of the city of Waterford.

"The Waterford Journal"

"Published by Esther Crawley and son, at the Euclid's Head, Peter Street, Waterford." 1765.

There does not exist a file or even a number of this journal in any library, private or public, in Waterford. Archdeacon Cotton merely names it, and mentions the date of its publication. Ryland says it was established by Esther Crawley, was published twice weekly, and was in existence for at least six years.

"The Waterford Chronicle."

"Printed by H. and J. Ramsay, Waterford." 1765.

This newspaper, though not the first printed one in Waterford, was first in point of merit of all the journals published in that city prior to 1800. It appeared twice weekly, the size small folio; and from the beginning this journal excelled any of its provincial cotemporaries,

in interest, management, tone, and spirit. The printers and publishers were Hugh and James Ramsay, booksellers, of Waterford. I am indebted to a liberal and enlightened member of the Society of Friends, Mr. J. Ridgeway, of Waterford, for an early volume of this journal; to a son of a former proprietor of the "Waterford Mirror," Mr John Farrell, Secretary of the Ballast Board; and likewise to Mr. O'Brien, Crown Solicitor, for all the aid that could be given to my researches respecting early newspaper printers in Waterford.

"'Ramsay's Waterford Chronicle,' says the Rev. R. H. Ryland in his "History of Waterford" (Lon., Murray, 1824, page 208), "was in existence in 1766. A second series of this journal was commenced in 1769. It was printed on a sheet of three columns, at the price of one shilling a quarter.

"In 1778 it was enlarged, each leaf was extended to four columns; the price was three-half-pence a number. In 1788 the price was increased to twopence half-penny. In 1791 it was reduced to twopence, and in 1804 it was increased to fourpence, and subsequently to fivepence"

A volume of "Ramsay's Waterford Chronicle" for 1787, is in my possession; it was still printed and published by Hugh and James Ramsay, booksellers on the Quay, Waterford. The size was then folio.

"Ramsay's Waterford Chronicle," September 25th, 1789, was still a twice weekly published paper, of increased price and dimensions, the price being twopence

half-penny. The size was the same as that of the "Freeman's Journal," and "Volunteer's Journal," of the same period.

The death of J. Ramsay, Jun., Esq., proprietor of the "Waterford Chronicle," is recorded in the obituary notices of "The European Magazine" for June, 1810.

I have in my possession a volume of a journal, entitled, "Ramsay's Waterford Chronicle," for a part of the year 1818. The latest number is for June 4th, 1818. It was printed and published by Arthur Birnie, the proprietor, bookseller, on the Quay, Waterford.

The old Ramsay's Chronicle may be said to have died out in 1810, with its then proprietor, J. Ramsay, Esq., jun. About 1815 it was reproduced in a new form, owned and published by new proprietors, but still retained its original title. If the mere retention of an original title confers on a newspaper the right of claiming parentage to a periodical that originated upwards of a century ago, then the "Waterford Chronicle," which in 1865 was owned and published by Mr. Curran, of Waterford, was a continuation of old Ramsey's "Waterford Chronicle." In the interim, between 1815 and 1865, the paper passed through many proprietors' hands and vicissitudes, which I may briefly refer to, though beyond the date assigned to the notices given in this volume of Early Provincial Papers.

In 1815, or about that date, it passed into the hands of Arthur Birnie, nephew of the Ramsays, the original proprietors.

About 1825 it passed into the hands of Philip Barron, and was at once devoted to electioneering objects, to secure the return of Henry Villiers Stuart, now Lord Stuart de Decies, in opposition to the late Lord George Thomas Beresford, for the county Waterford, in 1826. In the fervour of its zeal for liberal interests, and the vehemence of its strictures on the Beresford party, unpleasant consequences of a legal kind, hostile meetings, and at least one duel occurred. During Mr. Philip Ramsay's proprietorship of the paper, the old name of "Ramsay's Waterford Chronicle" was abandoned.

The next proprietor was Mr. Pierse Richard Barron, the brother of the preceding owner, who was prosecuted for an article in his paper on "Disparagement of the Temporalities of the Protestant Church Establishment," and condemned to imprisonment for a long period.

The paper of the Barrons then appeared to have ceased, and to have been succeeded by another called the "Chronicle," published by Mr. John Killilea, twice weekly. It was in existence about five years.

Whatever interest the representatives of Pierse Richard Barron had in their paper, was sold to a Mr. Peter Strange, of Aylwardstown, Co. Kilkenny, and published with its old title for a short time. It changed hands several times in the course of a few years, and eventually came into the hands of Mr. Edward Netterville Barron, in whose hands the "Waterford Chronicle" remained until about 1844.

In August 1850, Mr. Patrick Flynn revived the

"Waterford Chronicle," but not successfully. The publication became weekly, and in 1865 it was in existence, in the hands of Patrick Flynn, son-in-law of the preceding proprietor, Mr. Patrick Flynn, to whom I am indebted for some of the details just given.

"The Waterford Mirror and Munster Packet."

"Printed and published, first by John Bull, subsequently by William Hughes and John Scott, Waterford." 1809.

This paper, published thrice weekly, was set up for electioneering purposes, to promote the interests of Sir John Newport. Hughes was sustained by Mr. Thomas Scott, banker in Waterford. In 1809, it was purchased by Richard Farrell, Esq., father of my informant, John Farrell, Esq., secretary of the Ballast Board ; Richard Farrell died in 1842. The paper ceased to exist in 1843. Another journal with the same title, but, different in all respects from the original "Waterford Mirror," was started by Mr. John Stacey Palmer about 1860.

Mirabile dictu, a complete set of one Irish newspaper exists, and for that marvel Ireland is indebted to the filial piety and enlightenment of the son of a former proprietor of this paper, Mr. Richard Farrell, secretary of the Ballast Board of Waterford. To this gentleman I am indebted for the facilities of research which enable me to give a very exact and detailed account of the various vicissitudes of proprietorship of this journal.

This paper commenced with the advocacy of decided Tory politics. There was a little coquetting for a short time with Liberalism, then the public were informed that "The paper would continue its advocacy of moderate principles, and the extinction of party prejudices and religious animosities.

In the number of "The Waterford Mirror" for April 9th, 1807, the names of Messrs. Hughes and Scott as printers and publishers disappear, and the name occurs for the first time of William Carson as printer and publisher.

From September, 1809, the paper had been the property of Mr Carson. In the number of "The Waterford Mirror" for the 27th of March, 1811, the name of Richard Farrell, who was in reality the proprietor of the paper, occurs for the first time as printer and publisher.

When William Carson ceased to be the printer and publisher of "The Waterford Mirror," he became the printer and publisher of "The Clonmel Advertiser."

In the number of "The Waterford Mirror" for June 1st, 1801, there is an account of Lord Chancellor Clare having undergone a serious operation, "the first," the editor has been informed, "that had ever been performed," which had to be undertaken in consequence of the dreadful accident his lordship had recently met with.

In the number for February 5th, 1803, the public are informed that a change had taken place in the property of the paper, the proprietor having entered into a partnership.

"The Waterford Mirror" of the 27th of October, 1802, gives an account of a "tunnel under the Thames," that was then being carried into execution under the river from Gravesend to Tilbury Fort.

"The Munster Packet, or General Advertiser."

"Printed and published by Matthew Doyle, Peter Street, Waterford." 1788.

The first number of this paper was published January 14th, 1788. It appeared twice weekly, price twopence-halfpenny. Its dimensions were those of nearly all the the Irish papers of the time—eighteen inches long, by twelve broad. In the prospectus, the proprietor informs the public his journal is founded on the principles of the Emancipation of Irish Commerce and Parliamentary Independence from Arbitrary Power that were established in 1782.

"The Waterford Herald."

"Printed and published by Nicholas Byrne, Waterford." 1791—1795.

The first number of this journal, published thrice weekly, price twopence-halfpenny, size eighteen inches long, by thirteen inches broad, was published February 3rd, 1791.

In the prospectus the editor and printer "deals with the public ingenuously," according to their ideas of newspaper ingenuousness, "pledging themselves to the

world to a due observance of those principles which they boldly lay before their readers;" but not condescending to throw the smallest ray of light on those principles, or to give the slightest clue to the nature of the politics and polemics to be advocated in its columns, except by that convenient formula, which means everything and nothing—"conducted on liberal principles." Accordingly we find the "Waterford Herald" of no recognisable politics or polemics. Indifferentism to all Irish interests, realised the "Herald's" idea of impartiality; the *beau ideal* of newspaper spirit, sprightliness, and vivacity, was the gentle dulness of jocoseness without wit, humour, point, or terseness. The "Herald" delighted in poetry of that vein of Whalley which Swift bestowed a malediction on in his letter to Pope of March 6th, 1728: "I hope you remembered that Daniel is a damnable poet, and consequently a public enemy to mankind."

In 1793 the printer and publisher of the "Waterford Herald" was Mr. W. G. Moffatt. The unmistakable evidence of veniality was then to be found in its columns of Government Proclamations, Gazette Notices by order of the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council frequently occupying two of the four sides of the paper.

I am indebted to the Rev. Dr. Halley, P.P. of Dungarven, and Vicar General of the diocese, for volumes of the "Waterford Herald" for the years 1791, 1792, 1793, and 1794.

The first number is for February 3rd, 1791. The

paper, folio size, was then published thrice weekly, and was printed by Nicholas Bryne, Quay, Waterford.

In January, 1794, it was printed and published by W. G. Moffat, near the Quay, Waterford, and so continued to be up to August 16th, 1794. From that date it was printed and published by J. Botham, and so continued to be, up to December 30th, 1794.

In the "Waterford Herald," for August 18th, 1791, the public are informed that "the Earl of Abercorn is spoken of as the person likely to succeed the Earl of Westmoreland in the government of this kingdom, should Lord Westmoreland resign."

In the "Waterford Herald" for March 1st, 1794, we find the following announcement:—

"Dublin, April 29th, 1794.—Yesterday morning, about ten o'clock, the Rev. William Jackson, late of London, was arrested at his lodging, in Hyde's New Hotel, in Dame Street, on a charge of high treason, by Mr. Oliver Carleton, of the police, and brought before the Earl of Clonmell, who committed him to the new gaol."

In the number for January 1st, 1794, an amended prospectus was published with the old formula—"Conducted on liberal principles"—struck out, and the more intelligible words inserted: "Our first object is to inculcate principles which lead to peace and good order, and unmask those who, falsely professing patriotism, have endeavoured to stir up disorder and disrespect for our rulers, in order to promote their own wicked designs."

It did not suit the purpose of Mr. W. G. Moffat to say to his patrons: "Our first object is to promote our own private interests, which have induced us to sell our journal to the Government, and for the sake of the stipend paid to us for our services, in the form of payments made to us for printing government proclamations, we have accomplished our designs, and pitched our country and its interests to the devil."

The last number of this venal print I have seen is for December 30th, 1794.

One thing cannot fail to strike the mind of any person who looks over the files of Waterford papers of an early date, of all politics —the utter dearth of all literary talent in the writing of them, and apparent consciousness of the conductors of them that their readers required no provision of literary intelligence for their entertainment or instruction. It would really appear from the Waterford newspapers, that education among the upper and the middle classes was at an exceeding low ebb, even down so late as the middle of the present century.

It would be very difficult from the tone of the politics and polemics of the "Waterford Herald," during the first years of its existence, to form an opinion whether that journal advocated Whig or Tory politics, civil and religious liberty, or Orangeism and Protestant ascendency; but from one material fact, namely, the publication of numerous Government Proclamations in this journal, it might be presumed that the "Waterford Herald" was a newspaper of the right sort—in the language of the

pensioned Bard of Orangeism, Mr. Robert Young, "a real, true-blue publication."

"Carey's Waterford Packet."

"Printed by James Carey, Quay, Waterford." 1791.

The first number of this journal appeared the 20th of August, 1791. The appearance of the last was not very distant from that of the first. In size and all respects save one, it was the same as "The Waterford Herald"—a folio sheet, of sixteen columns, of vapid dullness. The only redeeming article in "The Waterford Packet," was a poetical one of considerable merit, entitled, "Ode to Hypochondria," by a young gentleman of Waterford. "E.W." This poem was far superior to any of the poetical contributions of the time to Irish newspaper literature.

In 1824, the Rev. Mr. Ryland says, there were only three newspapers in Waterford—"The Chronicle," "The Mirror," and "The Mail."

So early as 1770 there were two newspapers in Waterford.

"The Waterford Advertiser."

"Printed and published by Mr. William Murphy, Waterford."

The journal above mentioned is referred to by Mr. Ryland. All the particulars he gives about it were that it was very little known. But when it was started, or

ceased to exist, he gives no account. I have never seen a number of it. When it came to an end, in the usual newspaper parlance, it was genteelly said to have merged in "The Shamrock," established by Dr. Hearn.

LIMERICK PAPERS.

"The Limerick Chronicle."

"Printed by Mr. John Ferrar, author of 'The Typographical History of Limerick.' Limerick." 1766.

The various dates assigned to the origin of this paper are remarkable.

Archdeacon Cotton says it first appeared in 1767; Ryland says it was in being in 1766; Pinkerton states that it commenced in 1768;* Lenehan in 1766.

The author of an excellent work, published in 1866, one of the best modern local histories, illustrative of the annals, ancient and modern history of Limerick, Mr. Maurice Lenehan, proprietor of "The Limerick Reporter," and of "The Tipperary Vindicator," states that he has in his possession the twentieth volume of "The Magazine of Magazines," printed and published in Limerick, for the year 1760; therefore it is to be inferred the magazine was first published in 1740.

There certainly is a mistake, either in the year (1760) or in the number of the volume (20). The earliest number in my possession of this magazine is for June, 1754; volume VII. Presuming that each volume

* "Notes and Queries." Dec. 9, 1854.

contained a year's numbers, the date of its origin would be 1747.

In 1754 it was printed and published by Andrew Welsh, the originator. It contained no original matter. It was professedly "selected from thirteen English and French Periodical Pamphlets," magazines and literary journals, and some other publications. Though carefully abstaining in this volume from treating of magazines, I find it necessary to refer to this magazine, which has been spoken of as an original magazine, which it certainly is not, and one of the earliest specimens of an Irish provincial literary journal.

Limerick cannot be said to have manifested much intellectual life at an early period. A Diocesan school had been established in Limerick, pursuant to an act of the 12th of Elizabeth, but it was never well supported, and long previously to 1827 existed only in name.

The Cathedral of Limerick was founded in 1180, by Donald O'Brien, King of Munster. Like many other venerable piles in Ireland, the cathedral church of Limerick is not much indebted to the Reformation, or to the restorations that have been made at various periods. The barbarous taste which is manifested in them, with their admixtures of Greek, Gothic, Byzantine, and Norman styles of architecture, has not been more fatal to the venerable cathedral of Limerick than the fanaticism which led to the destruction of altars, and demolition of shrines, crosses, &c., in this sacred pile.

McGregor and Fitzgerald, in their history of the county and city of Limerick (in 2 vols., 8vo, 1827. Vol. II., p. 536), state that, "at one time there were four newspapers in Limerick, but in 1827 there were only two, 'The Limerick Chronicle,' published by Messrs. H. and A. Watson, and 'The Limerick Evening Post,' by Mr. Geary, both papers of moderate politics. 'The Chronicle' was originally established about 1767, by Mr. Ferrar, author of the excellent history of Limerick. 'The Chronicle' was, and is, published twice a week.

"'The Munster Journal' was established by Mr. Andrew Welsh early in the last century, when it is said to have been the only periodical publication that existed in the province of Munster. Yet its proprietor realised a handsome independence by his publication. It was well supported, for more than half-a-century, as was likewise 'The Limerick Journal,' which was subsequently published by Mr. Edward Flynn."

The authors of "The History of Limerick" fall into an error which I have previously refuted. They say at page 537, vol. II.:—"The first newspaper was established in this country (query county), under the title of 'Warranted Tidings from Ireland.'" I have seen this publication; it was an occasional letter of Irish news, but had no characteristic of a newspaper.

"The Limerick Chronicle," in 1866, was still in being, at the venerable age of 100 years. The proprietors then were Mr. Hosford and Mrs. Sarah Basnett.

"The Munster Journal."

"Printed and published in Limerick, for the proprietor, by Andrew Welsh, Limerick." 1766.

This "venerable broadsheet," established by an energetic citizen of Limerick, was said to be the oldest Munster journal, we are told, by Mr. Lenehan, in his recent work, "The History of Limerick," but it certainly was not the oldest Munster journal. Mr. Andrew Welsh was the ancestor of the respectable family of Welsh, of Newton Park, county of Clare. "The Munster Journal" was not much in advance of its provincial cotemporaries. Mr. Welsh also published "The Magazine of Magazines," which, Mr. Lenehan says, "appears to have been a reprint of 'Exshaw's London and Dublin Magazine,' with a Limerick title page." Of that statement something will have to be said elsewhere.

A printer, of some notoriety in his day, Mr. William Goggin, "the great chap book and ballad printer, whose shop was dignified with the name of Shakspeare, was a cotemporary of Welsh's, and a publisher of a very trashy magazine. "The Munster Journal," merged into "The Limerick Chronicle," of which Edward Flynn was the proprietor about 1787.

"The Limerick Journal,"

"Printed by Mr. Edward Flynn, Limerick." 1787.

This journal enjoyed the patronage of Lord Chancellor Clare, and, it is hardly necessary to say, was not

vehemently liberal or patriotic. Mr. Flynn had been an agent of Lord Clare, and reaped a rich harvest by the publication of the Government proclamations. Mr. Flynn, nevertheless, was a Roman Catholic.

"The Limerick Herald and Munster Advertiser,"

"Printed and published by Robert Law, Limerick." 1788—1789.

This journal, published twice weekly, made its first appearance in the beginning of January, 1788; price, twopence. No provincial paper of the time surpassed "The Limerick Herald" in stupidity. Any politics it might be suspected that it aimed at being supposed to advocate were ultra tory.

"The Limerick Herald,"

"Originated by Dr. Hargrave, Limerick." 1787.

McGregor and Fitzgerald, in their "History of Limerick," state that this paper was commenced by Dr. Hargrave, in 1786 or 1787, and was conducted for some years with considerable ability.

CHAPTER IV.

"The Belfast News Letter and General Advertiser."

"Printed by Henry and Robert Joy, Belfast." 1737—1867.

Berwick, in his "Historical Collections relative to the town of Belfast," correctly informs his readers that "on the 1st of September, 1737, 'The Belfast News Letter' was commenced; the first newspaper printed in that town."

Of antecedent printing in Belfast, a few words have to be said.

I have referred at some length to a literary controversy that has engaged a good deal of attention, namely, the introduction of printing into Belfast by a Scotch printer, James Blow, and the alleged publication by him of the first English version of the Scriptures printed in Ireland.

In the second edition of "The Typographical Gazetteer," printed in Oxford in 1831, Dr. Cotton says:

"In 1714, James Blow printed the works of Sir David Lindsey,—a Bible, a prayer-book, psalms in metre, and twenty or thirty other books."

But in the last edition of his works, printed in 1866, Dr. Cotton says: "It is asserted that in 1704, James Blow printed a Bible—the first printed in Ireland—and in 1716 he issued another edition."

On what grounds this new statement is put forth by Dr. Cotton respecting an edition of the Bible so early as 1764, is not stated; I believe there are no solid grounds for it. If any English Bible was ever printed in Belfast, it certainly was not prior to 1714, and no living person, as far as I can learn, has seen any Bible printed by Blow of that date, or of the year 1716.

Archdeacon Cotton, in relation to Blow's press, informs his readers:

"In 1824, John Wesley Lindsay commenced the business of a printer at Youghal, in a very humble way, having purchased at Cork an old wooden press, which had formerly belonged to James Blow, a well-known printer in Belfast in 1696, and is believed to have been the very press at which the first Bible printed in Ireland, 8vo., Belfast, 1704, was struck off. Blow sold it to a Cork printer, who used it in publishing a small newspaper, and in his office it remained until Lindsay purchased it in 1824. It is still in being."*

The fate of the old press of James Blow, the first that found its way into Ulster, is worth mentioning.

* "Typographical Gazetteer," 3rd Ed., 1866, Oxford, p. 306.

Printing was introduced into Youghal, it is alleged, in 1770, by a person named Cox.

Archdeacon Cotton says Cox was succeeded by Thomas Lord, who printed the first book produced in this town—"A History of the Town of Youghal," 1774, in 12mo. Lord left Youghal, and established himself in Roscrea in 1785. And in 1824, John Wesley Lindsay carried on the printing business in this town with the old wooden press which formerly belonged to James Blow, of Belfast.*

Whatever may be the correctness or erroneousness of the conflicting statements that have been made with respect to the earliest English version of the Bible being printed in Belfast, by James Blow, it is quite certain that Belfast furnished some remarkable instances of early Irish provincial printing—that the first news journal published in the province of Ulster came into being, and in 1748 the first paper mill established in Ulster was erected, at Randalstown.†

In the first edition of the "Typographical Gazetteer" it is stated:

"In 1696, James Blow, a printer of Glasgow, arrived here with Patrick Neill, his brother-in-law, and commenced work. Archbishop King, of Dublin, quotes editions of the Scottish catechism, with the solemn league and covenant, of the dates 1694 and 1700, which he was assured were printed in Belfast."

* "Typographical Gazetteer," 3rd Ed., 1866, p 306.
† "Typographical Gazetteer," 3rd Ed., Oxford, 1866, p. 19.

Pinkerton, in a communication to "Notes and Queries" for December 9th, 1854, says "The Belfast News Letter" made its first appearance in 1737.

Archdeacon Cotton, however, states: "On the 1st of September, 1728, 'The Belfast News Letter' began; supposed to be the first newspaper published in the province of Ulster. In 1748 the first paper mill in Ulster was erected at Randalstown, near Antrim, by Francis Joy."*

Archdeacon Cotton is certainly mistaken in the date he assigns to the origin of "The Belfast News Letter"—September 1st, 1728.

This journal's origin was in 1737. The price was then a penny, as it is at the expiration of 130 years.

A volume of "The Belfast News Letter" is in my possession, commencing with the 2428th number for November 21st, 1760, and ending with No. 2542, for December 24th, 1761. The printers and publishers were then Henry and Robert Joy. The enlarged dimension, 16½ inches in length by 10 inches in width; four sides, in 12 columns. It was published twice weekly.

The following is an account of the contents and distribution of matter of a single number for the 21st of November, 1760:—Of the twelve columns, seven are filled with advertisements, three with extracts from "The London Gazette," one column with the proceedings of a County Down Agricultural Society Meeting,

* Archdeacon Cotton's "Typographical Gazetteer," Oxford, 3rd Series, 1866, p. 19.

three-quarters of a column with American news, and one quarter of a column with Dublin and Belfast intelligence, the former occupying seventeen lines, the latter three!!!

A person may search a large portion of the volume for politics or polemics without finding a trace of either; but when he does meet with some faint indications of both, there is nothing of a very severe controversial nature mixed up with them. The innocent inquirer into the politics and polemics of the editors and readers of "The Belfast News Letter," must take it for granted that there are none but Tories and Protestant Ascendency Protestants in Belfast.

The leading Belfast journal, like the Penal Law Statutes then in operation, ignored the existence of a Roman Catholic in Ireland; and the law of custom bore down heavily on the vulgar socialism of Whig liberality and scepticism, implied by a belief in the advantages of a tolerant regime.

The "Belfast News Letter and General Advertiser," throughout its long career has been extremely consistent —*ab initio*—anti-liberal, anti-Catholic, anti-national in every sense. Ascendency politics, and those of Orangeism have at all times found a steady support, though at times not a vehement advocacy, in the columns of the "Belfast News Letter."

At intervals of nearly a century we find remarkable evidences of exuberant loyalty for the memory of princes of small worth, virtue, or wisdom, in the "Belfast

News Letter." On the occasion of the death of George II., of whose character as a father, a husband, and a king, history has not much to say of a eulogistic kind, ample evidences are to be found in that journal of similar characteristics.

On the death of George II. we find an amusing example of the hyperbolical eulogistic style of the ultra-loyal ascendency kind of the modern press, in the "Belfast News Letter," for November 21st, 1760:

"KINGS WHO ARE FATHERS LIVE BUT IN THEIR PEOPLE."

"How pleasing to yield our breath and pay the last sad necessary debt, lamented by the voice of general love, bewailed by the tears of universal affection; embalmed in the precious memory of reverential, grateful esteem! How pleasing to die, as it were, in the arms of regretful, weeping anxiety; to leave a longing desire of us behind, and to cease to exist, ere we ceased to be valuable and necessary. This was the happy lot of our departed king, on whom the favours of heaven seem to have shed its choicest blessings. Formed by nature for *loyalty* (*sic*), he early showed those great and shining qualities which adorn the princely diadem. Undaunted courage distinguished him in the field; firmness and fortitude, tempered with mild clemency and melting compassion, bespoke him worthy to sustain the difficulties of empire. . . . George II. had enough of the fire of heroism to have won him immortal renown

in the tented field had he been lustful of such glory; but he was happy enough to move in another and a better sphere, and to shine, like a good star, with a benign influence on mankind. . . .

"He may be justly styled the general assertor of human liberty. . . . The splendid merits of heroism may render us eminent in the tongues of men; the endearing virtues of humanity can alone render us endeared by our nearest friends and domestics. Ask them, and they will tell you, if their brimful hearts will allow them utterance, that their gracious master was not more great than good; that every social excellence adorned the man that they have lost—the friend, the father, the benefactor. Uniform and regular in his actions; steady in his attachments; grave, calm, and magnanimous in disposition, and admirable for his moderation and strict temperance. . . .

"The sun found him rarely asleep on his pillow; but with its rising rays it saluted the illustrious king bending the suppliant knee before the throne of the King of Kings. It was his happy lot to see his people united in the firmest concord and most friendly union, such as her annals cannot parallel in her most fortunate days. It was his to see indigent faction perish, and languishing party waste diminished into death. . . . It was his to see the flag of his country ride triumphant over the subjected deep; it was his to behold the British lion roused to unusual courage, and victorious in every quarter of the globe. . . . Oh! mayest thou live—

ever live—gracious sovereign in the faithful remembrance of thy people. . . . Rest—rest, blessed shade, may the fullest joys of immortality reward thee, while the tears of thy people—tears shed amidst the loudest acclamations of joy, bespeak their sorrows and confirm thy goodness, happier far to die amidst such silent attestations of undissembled regard, than amidst the worldly adulations of an applauding universe. *While for ourselves we will transfer our allegiance and affection to the heir of thy throne and of thy glories, whose princely virtues we contemplate with heartfelt delight,*" &c.*

What a "fine volley of words," † has the scribe of the "Belfast News Letter" poured into a panegyric of George II. The writer groans, perhaps, a little too monotonously, and eulogizes rather inordinately. He, evidently, had been poking out of the dictionary, words indicative of sorrow and lamentation; but the reducing of them to order, and putting the fit ones into proper places, was either beyond his power or beneath his condescension. "The accents of his tongue affecteth him;" ‡ he talks in "Ercle's vein," somewhat too wildly, even for the divine fury of Protestant ascendency loyalty. As he looks on a king's death, and expatiates upon it, he seems to have "suffered three several deaths," § and so vehement is his sorrow, we feel constrained to ask

* The "Belfast News Letter" for November 21st, 1760.
† "King John."
‡ "Merry Wives of Windsor."
§ "Midsummer Night's Dream."

"What man is he whose grief bears such an emphasis?" The scribes of Orangedom cannot be mournful in a quiet, peaceable manner. They "must aggravate their grief," so that it will "roar you as gently as any sucking dove." They cannot open their mouths or put pen to paper, except to proclaim their loyalty and attachment to the House of Brunswick and the Hanoverian succession, their devoted love for any king, even in his grave, and their readiness to transfer it to any successor of his. They whine and groan for the one dead or dying, and they bow down their heads with a manifestation of reverence approaching the character of an act of adoration, when they confront the august subject of the accession of a new sovereign. The "Belfast News Letter" scribe, with all his generous grief for the loss of his sovereign, has another paramount feeling of moral disquietude—a strong sense of fear of losing the advertising of Government Proclamations, notices, orders, and decrees, the value of which averaged at the very least from £300 to £500 a year. It is no wonder he should whine and pray that "God should give him grace to groan" * to some advantage. One can now understand that passage that has baffled so many commentators of Shakspeare—"My griefs cry louder for advertisement." † Our worthy "Belfast News Letter" friend clearly saw the advantage of importunity in his lamentation, and understood the true meaning of the passage—"Enlarge your griefs, and

* "Love's Labour Lost."
† "Much Ado about Nothing."

I will give you audience,"* and of that other consolatory one—"The king has sent to know the nature of your griefs, sir." †

Messrs. Henry and Robert Joy, the proprietors of the "Belfast News Letter," seem not only to have derived from their predecessors, but to have transmitted to their successors of the century that followed 1760, those peculiar editorial qualities and powers of newspaper magniloquence which are so remarkably exhibited in the preceding elaborate eulogium on the heroic character of George II., and in the graceful act of worship of the rising sun of the House of Hanover, beginning to blaze forth in his youthful successor, George III. This eulogium would make a fine model for the eulogistic newspaper articles that from time to time will have to be written on the death of kings and princes, who have been favourably disposed to the interests of Irish Orangeism.

The eulogist of George II., and worshipper of the rising sun in the person of George III., in the columns of the "Belfast News Letter," had evidently "been at a great feast of languages, and stolen the scraps," ‡ and thus provided for a grand occasion to show off his loyalty, and recommend his obsequious journal to the favourable consideration of the powers that be, with "an alms basket of words," § he picked out all the lugubrious and

* "Julius Cæsar."
† "King Henry IV.," Part I.
‡ "Love's Labour Lost."
§ Ibid.

laudatory ones he could find, and put together the heterogeneous materials of his elegiac article.

In the immoderate grief of the "Belfast News Letter" scribe for the death of the old Hanoverian gentleman of an unamiable nature, and rather unloveable disposition, and in the extravagant terms of eulogy in which the worthlessness of George II. was dealt with, we have a fine specimen of the modern Athenian *cuteness* and the flunkeyism of northern newspaper lip loyalty, affecting vehement personal love and admiration for a king of whom the people of Ireland had no knowledge, and from whom they had never received a single boon.

Clarendon says—"He had never any veneration for the court, but only such loyalty to the king as the law required." That is not the kind of loyalty of the scribes of Orangeism:

> "Their loyalty is *not* the same,
> Whether it win or lose the game;
> True as the dial to the sun,
> Its face *must still* be shone upon."*

Davenant describes a faction of his time, pretending to exclusive loyalty, as if that of Orangeism had sat for the picture:—

"An ignorant mercenary and servile crew, unanimous in evil, variable in principles, constant in the flattery of princes, talkers for liberty but slaves to power, styling themselves the court party, and the king's only friends."

All mendacious professions of devotion and veneration are loathsome, but there are none so contemptible as

* Hudibras improved.

those of unbounded affection for persons in authority, whose office simply we are in conscience bound to hold in respect, and to yield obedience to, unless, indeed, they are benefactors to our country, and then they make for themselves a valid claim to our esteem and gratitude. But the preposterous pretensions to exclusive loyalty, of Northern Orangeism, conditional as it is, and exhibited only in gratitude for an ascendency of a religious, and educational, and political nature, so long as it is accorded to them, are, in reality, to be regarded only as vulgar efforts to promote sordid, selfish interests, aims, and objects. In this farrago of flattery, and fawning obsequiousness, full of loyalty from the lip outwards, the effort to appear grief-stricken for the loss of a king like George II. would be painful, if it had been less ludicrous, and at the same time to seem joyous as well as pious on account of the transferred glories of that king to "the heir whose princely virtues we contemplate with such heartfelt delight," would be sickening if it were not so obviously ridiculous.

Of that young, hopeful prince, Junius, eleven years later than the scribe of the "Belfast News Letter," has said a few words:—

"A man neither capable of virtue nor vice in the extreme, whose blind submission is secured to those persons whom he had been accustomed to respect, and thus had been made a dangerous instrument to their ambition. Secluded from the world, attached from his infancy to one set of persons and one set of ideas, he can neither open his heart to new connections, nor his mind

to better information. A character of this sort is the soil fittest to produce an obstinate bigotry in politics and religion," &c.*

And again, "I know that man much better than any of you. Nature intended him only for a good-humoured fool. A systematic education, with much practice, has made him a consummate hypocrite." †

Of course these eminent persons of exalted functions in Ireland duly appreciate the power and the value of a free press, and the value of the formula which describes it as "The Palladium of the British Constitution."

The value and importance of the Irish newspaper press of Tory politics, Orange principles, and Ascendency polemics, were just as clearly perceived in the year 1760 as they are in the year 1867, when they cannot be stipended by fixed pensions or occasional evidences of gratitude in the shape of lumps of money given to them, but they can be purchased and retained by pecuniary advantages, in the forms of government advertisements, and those of the several departments connected with it. "The Belfast News Letter" was certainly privileged and favoured in this manner.

And it must be borne in mind that the vast sums expended on newspaper secret service doing in Ireland, have been of that description of which "The Belfast News Letter" has been signal in the performance of. That paper has been at all times consistent in its illibe-

* "Junius' Letters," Ed., 12mo., Lon. 1806, vol. 2, page 26.
† *Ib.*, page 115.

rality and intolerance, for upwards of a century; its hostility to the faith, civil and religious liberties of the people of Ireland, the majority of its population, has been efficiently sustained, and very successfully carried on. The value of such services has been officially recognised in our own times, and rewarded too, in the persons of individuals closely connected, alike with the Orange institution and with the proprietors of "The Belfast News Letter."

There is some inconvenience in making Orange newspapers in Ireland the exponents of British policy in that country, as Orangemen have interpreted that policy in their recognised status of stipended auxiliaries of British power and authority, so must the people at large have interpreted the knowledge of governmental policy possessed by the king's Irish servants, by whom the Orange press was subsidized virtually, and the knowledge of British Imperial interests, in regard to Ireland, which must be held identical with those of Orangeism there, as they are held to be by Orangemen, and, unfortunately, as some Irish people foolishly imagined, suffered to be so held by British statesmen.

In "The Belfast News Letter" for 3rd January, 1761, a new magazine that died soon after it was born was advertized.

"The Dublin Library, or Irish Magazine," published by D. Chamberlane, Smock Alley, price 6d. The first number appeared 30th May, 1761. It was published fortnightly.

In the 2441st number, for January, 1761, will be found one of the best expositions of Poyning's Law, and the subsequent explanatory act of that law that is to be met with.

"Cork, April 2, 1761.—Tuesday last, about twenty minutes after twelve o'clock at noon, we had a shock of an earthquake, which was felt in most parts of this city, within the gates. The shock lasted above a minute; its direction seemed to be from South-East to North-West, and, though it was sensibly felt by many people, did not do any damage. At Kingsale the waters suddenly rose so high at five o'clock in the afternoon as to have several boats on shore."*

"A letter from a gentleman of Carrick-on-Suir, of July 31, 1761, states that about four o'clock in the afternoon of the previous Tuesday the waters of the Suir rose four feet in the space of five minutes, at a distance of about thirty miles from the sea. It was two hours after the flood-tide. At Dungarvon the sea ebbed and flowed five times alternately between four and nine o'clock in the evening. The general impression of people in the vicinity of these phenomena is, that the commotion proceeded from an earthquake."

"Belfast News Letter," January, 1761.

In the same Journal for May 12, 1761, we read, "The election for two citizens to represent the city of

* "The Belfast News Letter," April 10th, 1761.

Dublin in Parliament, which lasted for thirteen days, ended, when Mr. Grattan (the father of Henry Grattan) and Dr. Charles Lucas were returned.

"The new members were carried in a triumphal chair from the Tholsel to the House of Parliament, amidst tremendous acclamations. At night the rejoicings, ringing of bells, bonfires, recreations, and refreshment of the citizens were kept up till a late hour. A great quantity of drink was given to the people."

In "The Belfast News Letter" for 11th July, 1761, the marriage is recorded of Mr. Boulter Grierson, King's Printer, of Essex-street, with Miss Wilkinson, of Wine Tavern-street.

And in the same day's journal we find Trinity College doing honour to the returned exile, Dr. Lucas, by conferring on him the degree of Dr. of Physic; and conferring on Patrick Duigenan the degree of Master of Arts.

In the same journal for 8th December, 1761, we find the following:—

"Cork, November 30.—Thursday last, Henry Sheares, of this city, Esq., was unanimously elected Member of Parliament for the Borough of Cloghnakilty in the room of Lord Boyle."

In the same journal for July 24, 1761, it is announced that the Dublin Corporation had recently resolved to instruct their new representatives, Messrs. Grattan and

Lucas, to use their utmost endeavours to procure a law to limit the duration of parliament here, as in England.

In this journal for March 20, 1761, we find the folwing:—

"Dublin, March 17, 1761.—Dr. Charles Lucas arrived here from England on Sunday night, the 15th instant."

"Dublin, March, 16th, 1761.—The electors of the city, at a meeting in Dame-street, resolved unanimously that Dr. Charles Lucas is a fit person to represent them in parliament."

In these two brief notices very important events are indicated. The twelve years exile of Lucas had terminated. He was permitted, by Government, to return to his country; and no sooner is he returned to it than his fellow-citizens, virtually, determine he shall be returned by them to parliament.

In "The Belfast News Letter" for the 10th April, 1761, we find an earthquake recorded that ought to have preceded the restoration of the great municipal agitator to his country, and not followed that occurrence by a fortnight as it did; for, had it preceded his return, the great disturbance of natural order would have been regarded as the harbinger of Lucas's re-appearance.

One of the earliest notices of the volunteers is to be found in "The Belfast News Letter" for February 6, 1761.

"Cork, January 29.—We hear that an English man-of-war of sixty guns was seen off the old head of Kingsale,

on Tuesday last, with a large prize in company, supposed to be a French frigate or privateer.

"This day a company of volunteers arrived in town, to be incorporated with the other troops going on the expedition; they wore green boughs in their hats, and made a very handsome appearance."*

In 1794 the publishers of "The Belfast News Letter," Henry Joy and Co., published a work entitled "Belfast Politics; or, a Collection of the Debates, Resolutions, and other proceedings of that town, in 1792 and 1793." This production is now considered valuable for its accurate and authentic historical knowledge in relation to the origin and progress of the Revolution of 1782, and the Rebellion of 1798.

It would be unprofitable and fatiguing to wade through the advocated politics, polemics, and palliated raids and murders of Ulster Orangeism, from the period last referred to, to the present time.

Enough has been said to give our readers a sufficient knowledge of the principal Orange journal of the North of Ireland.

"The Belfast Mercury; or, Freeman's Chronicle."

"Printed and edited by John Tisdall, Belfast." 1783—1784.

In February, 1784, was denounced in the Irish Parliament, an account of publications of the Volunteers ad-

* "The Belfast News Letter," February 6th, 1761.

vocating Reform, which were designated by Mr. Annesly treasonable and seditious. This journal must have died out soon after its denunciation in 1784.

"THE NORTHERN STAR."

"Printed for the proprietors by John Tisdall, and after the fourth number, by John Rabb, Belfast." 1792—1797.

This journal was set up in Belfast, in January, 1792.

I copy from the original indenture placed in my hands by the daughters of Samuel Neilson, entered into by the proprietors, and bearing their signatures. By this agreement, they enter into a partnership for twenty-one years, to carry on the newspaper called "The Northern Star." The words deserve attention: "The said parties hereunto shall be and continue partners in the said business, *and all other business and trade* a majority of them shall think fit to carry on, for and during the full end and term of twenty-one years, to be computed from the first day of January last."

The words which I have marked are somewhat mysterious; what "other business," could a company of newspaper proprietors contemplate jointly carrying on? The stock-in trade of the partnership is limited to £2,000, arising from forty shares of £50 each, thus distributed among the proprietors:—

Samuel Neilson, Woollen Draper . 13 shares.
William Magee, Printer and Bookseller 3 do.

William Tennent, Merchant . .	3 shares.
Gilbert M'Ilveen, jun., Linen Draper .	2 do.
William M'Cleery, Tanner . .	2 do.
John Hazlitt, Woollen Draper . .	1 do.
John Rabb, Clerk	3 do.
William Simms, Merchant . . .	2 do.
John Boyle, Merchant . . .	3 do.
Robert Caldwell, Banker . . .	3 do.
Henry Hazlitt, Merchant . . .	3 do.
Robert Simms, Merchant . . .	2 do.

The above named twelve proprietors were men of respectability, some of them, the Simms and Tennents, Caldwell, and at that period Neilson, in affluent circumstances; and all of them presbyterians, either of the old light or Unitarian branch of that form of religion.

Neilson, assisted by a committee, was entrusted with the editing of the paper, at a salary of £100 a-year. John Rabb was the printer and publisher.

None of the partners were allowed to sell out their shares in the paper, without the consent of the majority of the copartners. The above agreement was executed in the presence of Matthew Hughes and John Tisdall, 3rd June, 1792.

The principal contributors to "The Northern Star," were Sampson, Russell, Porter, Kelburne, and Dickson, the three last-named presbyterian ministers. During the period of Neilson's imprisonment in 1797, his place as editor of the paper was filled at one time by Mr. Thomas Corbett, of Belfast, and subsequently by the

Rev. Mr. Porter, the author of the articles called "Billy Bluff and the Squire." These papers were of a satirical nature, illustrative of the scenes that took place between the old Earl of Londonderry, the Rev. John Cleland, and a neighbouring farmer, who filled the office of spy and informer to the noble lord and the rev. gentleman, in Belfast and its vicinity. The treason of these pasquinades against two of the above-named personages, was infinitely more perilous to the proprietors and acting editor of the "Northern Star," than any other species of seditious writing.

As with Neilson originated the idea of forming the Club of United Irishmen, so likewise with him the establishment of the "Northern Star," the organ of its opinions, had its origin.

In the preliminary address to the people of that paper, it is stated that "its attention shall be turned to a parliamentary reform, founded on a real representation of the people, and to the union of the people. To the former object its efforts will continue to be directed, until the venal borough trade shall cease, until corruption shall no longer, at least, be publicly avowed, and until the Common House of Parliament shall become the real organ of the public will; then, and only then, shall the labours of the 'Northern Star' in this great national business cease."

The above are the avowed, but not the only objects this paper had in view. If Tone's account of them is to be relied on, he states that it was set on foot "to give

a fair statement of all that passed in France, where every one turned his eyes; to inculcate union amongst Irishmen of all religious persuasions; to support the emancipation of the Catholics; and finally, as the necessary, though not the avowed consequence of all this, to erect Ireland into a republic independent of England.

The recognition of the principle of religious liberty was the prominent feature of the plan of the proposed society. That principle had indeed been advocated by Neilson from the beginning of his political career, and to the close of it he was a consistent advocate of immediate and unconditional emancipation. Neither, in justice to the memory of the founders of this society, ought it to be forgotten that to them we owe the extraordinary revolution in public opinion with respect to the Catholic claims which took place in 1792, the concessions granted that year, in consequence of the impulse given to that question, the awakening of the dormant energies of the Roman Catholic leaders, and the rescuing of their cause from "the cold dull shade" of the Catholic aristocracy.

We find by Tone's account of his first visit to Belfast, in October, 1791, that before the United Irish Society was yet organized, there was a secret committee of the leading political men of the popular party in the town, "their mode of doing business was by a secret committee, who are not known or suspected of co-operating, but who in fact direct the secret movements of Belfast." The members of this secret committee were William

Sinclair, Samuel M'Tier, Samuel Neilson, William M'Cleery, Thomas M'Cabe, William Sims, Robert Sims, Henry Hazlitt, William Tennent, — Campbell, Gilbert M'Ilveen.

On the 4th of January, 1792, the first number of the "Northern Star" was published in Belfast. The agreement entered into by Neilson with eleven of his townsmen, the majority of whom were opulent merchants of Belfast, to establish a newspaper for the dissemination of the views and principles of their society, was completed on the 3rd of July following.

Neilson was appointed the editor of the new paper, and the zeal and activity which he displayed in the management of it, soon rendered its circulation the most extensive of any paper in Ireland. Its sale for some years varied from four to five thousand each impression. Neilson embarked £500 in this speculation.

The political pursuits on which Neilson entered in 1791, caused his affairs to be neglected, and his business to be eventually abandoned. From the period of his connexion with the "Northern Star," all his energies appear to have been devoted to the interests of the Society of which that paper was the organ. In the summer of 1791, the idea of forming a society similar to that subsequently established under the name of the Club of the United Irishmen, was suggested by Samuel Neilson to Henry Joy M'Cracken, and Thomas Russell. The Volunteer Association was then fast sinking into insignificance; its leading members seemed only anxious

to obtain for it from Government the privilege of a decent burial of its glories. The causes which had led to its decline were sufficiently obvious to Neilson and his associates; it was evident to them that there could be no hope for the successful maintenance of the principles of the Volunteers, but in the cordial union of the people of Ireland of all religious persuasions. Neilson formed the idea of establishing a political club that would revive the great principles of the expiring association, namely, of reform and parliamentary independence. The matter was talked over with Henry Joy M'Cracken, Russell, and one or two other persons at a tavern. Neilson on this occasion said, "Our efforts for reform hitherto have been ineffectual, and they deserved to be so, for they have been selfish and unjust, as not including the rights of the Catholics in the claims put forward by ourselves."

Tone, at the time the establishment of the club of United Irishmen was determined on, had never been in Belfast; he was only employed there as a writer, whose pen had been employed in the service of the Whig Club, and in behalf of the Catholics. In the spring of 1791, his friend Russell having been appointed to an ensigncy on full pay in the 64th regiment of foot, then quartered in Belfast, visited that town, and became acquainted with many of the popular members of the Volunteer Association. At their instance he wrote to Tone to draw up a declaration, in which the Catholic question was to be noticed in favourable terms. Tone complied with this

request, but when the declaration came to be read by the Belfast Volunteers, the passage alluding to the settlement of the Catholic claims, "for the sake of unanimity, was withdrawn for the present."*

This was the first connexion of Tone with the politics of Belfast, and it probably recommended him to Neilson, and those who thought with him on the subject of Catholic emancipation. In the beginning of October, 1791, Tone states that "he was invited to spend a few days in Belfast, in order to assist in framing the first Club of United Irishmen, and to cultivate a personal acquaintance with those men whom, though he highly esteemed, he knew as yet but by reputation."†

In consequence of this invitation, he went down with his friend Russell (who at this time having quitted the army, had returned to Dublin), and on arrival at Belfast, the persons whom he names as "having some reason to esteem himself particularly fortunate in forming connexions with," were Samuel Neilson, Robert and William Sims, William Sinclair, and Thomas M'Cabe, "the men most distinguished for their virtue, talent and patriotism." He proceeds to say, "We formed our club, of which I wrote the declaration, and certainly the formation of that club commenced a new epoch in the politics of Ireland."‡

After remaining about three weeks in Belfast, Tone and Russell returned with instructions to cultivate the

* See Tone's Life, by his Son, American edition, vol. i. p. 51.
† See Tone's Life, Vol. I., p. 53.
‡ Ibid, Vol I., p. 54.

leaders in the popular interest being Protestants, and, if possible, to form in the capital a Club of United Irishmen. It is evident that the idea of forming the Society of United Irishmen originated with Samuel Neilson, met with the concurrence of Henry Joy M'Cracken, and Thomas Russell, was adopted by the Simses, M'Tier, M'Cabe, Hazlitt, and Sinclair; that Tone reduced that plan into form, and acted at the onset, in the organization of it, in accordance with the views previously taken up.

The origin and success of the "Northern Star" were certainly due to the indefatigable efforts of Samuel Neilson. In the latter part of 1794 he became sole proprietor of the paper. The various persecutions carried on against it had obliged Neilson, about this period, to dispose of all his property, and to relinquish his business, in order to meet the enormous expenses attendant on these proceedings, and the unexpected demands arising from them. The other proprietors, shortly after the prosecutions, disposed of their shares to Neilson, and thus, encompassed with peril, he became the sole proprietor of the paper. In 1792, the printer and proprietors had been prosecuted and acquitted. In January, 1793, six informations were filed in the King's Bench against them for seditious libels, and in November, 1794, they were prosecuted for publishing the address of the United Irishmen to the Volunteers. In September, 1796, the office was attacked and ransacked, and Neilson and several others were arrested, conveyed to Dublin,

and committed to Newgate, where they remained till the latter part of 1797. In the month of May, 1797, the office was again attacked by a military rabble, the presses broken, the types thrown into the street, and the paper finally suppressed. The particulars of the arrest in September, 1796, are given in the "Northern Star" of the 16th.

With respect to the literary ability displayed in the conduct of the "Northern Star," after a careful perusal of its columns, I cannot discover many indications of that superior talent, which was said to have been exhibited in it. From first to last its columns were chiefly devoted to details relating to the French Revolution and the actors in it, copied, in most cases, verbatim from French papers; and so intent did its managers seem on filling their columns with the proceedings of the National Assembly, and jacobin and other democratic clubs, that they seldom inserted leading articles of their own, or any original matter, except an occasional letter, or some very indifferent verses. The grand object seems to have been, to keep the example and events of the French Revolution continually before the eyes of the people. It is surprising that its circulation was so extensive as it was, far exceeding that of any contemporary journal, with so little matter respecting home politics, calculated, it would seem, to excite the public mind.

This circumstance, I think, shews how deeply the republican mania of the day had taken hold of public attention in the North of Ireland.

The literary ability displayed in the *Northern Star* was certainly inferior to that exhibited in the Press, but it served the purposes of the United Irishmen much better; its circulation was far more extensive.

Sampson seems to have been destined to have watched over the cradles and walked after the hearses of all the democratic journals of his time; in 1797 he was present at the office of the "Northern Star," when the destruction of its property was going forward.

The articles styled "The Hurdy Gurdy Trials," were written by Sampson; the pieces styled "The Lion of old England," were the production of Messrs. Porter and Russell. The above-named articles, and those subscribed "Yeoman" and "Monitor," were the ablest written in the "Northern Star." This paper appeared twice a week, and its sale amounted to 4,200 at the time of its suppression. In 1794 several of the proprietors withdrew, and Neilson was then induced to give up his business and devote his entire attention to the paper, and in a short time he was left sole proprietor of it. There was only one of the original proprietory living in 1843, Mr. Robert Simms, of Belfast.

At the time this paper was put down (May, 1797) the law had not given the summary power of seizing on the materials and property of an obnoxious press, and of incarcerating its proprietors; nevertheless, the "Northern Star" was thus put down, and its proprietor committed to gaol.

It is quite true that the views of some of the proprie-

tors of the "Northern Star" were republican. But it is equally true that these views were those only of certain leading men in the Belfast movement of 1792 and 1793; and those men even had to disguise their sentiments, and keep them concealed from the great majority of the early members of the Society of United Irishmen, and of the subscribers and supporters of the "Northern Star."

Of this journal at its commencement it may, however, be said, its original objects were, like those of the first Society of United Irishmen, legitimate. Those objects were Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform, and the Maintenance of the settlement of the question of Irish Parliamentary Independence of 1782. Unfortunately, the views of the Orangemen of Ireland, for whose interests and objects the Government of Ireland was carried on at that period, were utterly opposed to the objects above-stated, and preferred the chances and consequences of a provoked Rebellion to the concession of Catholic Emancipation and Reform, and the maintenance of Irish Parliamentary Reform.

"THE NEWRY JOURNAL."

"Printed and published by Robert Stevenson, Newry." 1775.

The publisher of this journal was an eminent bookseller and printer, of Newry. The paper was in being in 1777, but how long subsequent to that period I know not.

KILKENNY NEWSPAPERS.

"Finn's Leinster Journal,"

"Printed by Edward Finn, St. Mary's Churchyard, and subsequently at High Street, Kilkenny." 1766.

Of the dozen of newspapers published in the provinces in the last century which have been entitled patriarchs of the Irish provincial press, one of the most respectable though not of the earliest origin, is Edward Finn's "Leinster Journal."

The earliest number I have seen was published in St. Mary's Churchyard, Kilkenny, 24th January, 1767. The size of the paper was then sixteen inches by ten, four pages of tolerably good paper, and as well printed as any Dublin paper of the period.

It was published twice weekly. Of the twelve columns of "The Leinster Journal," seldom less than four were taken up with foreign intelligence, extracted from "The London Gazette," and other English newspapers; Dublin intelligence averaged a column; Kilkenny intelligence half a column; Irish country intelligence half a column; advertisements filled the remaining six columns.

The originator of this paper, Edward Finn, was a Roman Catholic, but he took good care to keep out of his paper anything that favoured of popery. He carried on the business of a bookseller and printer in Kilkenny successfully, and with good repute for many years.

Some ironical wag addressed a poetical epistle to the editor of "The Leinster Journal," which was published in that paper, signed "M. C.", July 26th, 1767, recommending him to add still more to the incomparable merits of his journal, by devoting a corner of it now and then to some subject of literary interest, or to some poetical effusions, reminding Mr. Finn, in the words of Cicero (pro Archia Poeta):—"Hœc studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, prosperas res ornant, adversas refugium et solatium prebent."

Wherefore "M.C." advises Mr. Edward Finn:—

"Industrious Finn, though Faulkner's spirit glows,
In all your veins and through your vitals flows;
Tho' twice each week you pour, in curious style,
A flood of *news*, like disembogueing *Nile;*
There still remains one truly useful part,
To raise your profit, and improve your art.
'Tis not enough that you with care explore,
Of *Holland Mails*, the news each gale brings o'er:
With special care this pleasing *Angle* fill,
This *corner*, sacred to the poet's quill;
Encourage bards replete with tuneful rhyme,
Whose words from *Nature* into *Numbers* chime."

This journal was circulated with remarkable expedition, by means of special messengers through all the towns and villages of note in the counties of Kilkenny, Carlow, Kildare, Waterford, Wexford, and the Queen's County, and was delivered in Waterford, Clonmel, Carlow, Cashel, and several other towns, on the same days of publication. The circulation of this journal through the post office, extended to Dublin, London, and Edinburgh.

The size of this paper was four sides, of sixteen columns—18 inches long by 12 broad. Subscriptions, 12 shillings a-year.

Edward Finn, the proprietor of "The Leinster Journal," was an uncle of the late Counsellor William Finn (brother-in-law of O'Connell). He died in the early part of 1777. In the 1079th number (from the publication of the first number), of the date May 21st, 1777, the widow of the late proprietor, Mrs. Finn, published an address to the public, in which they were informed that "'The Leinster Journal' would be carried on as heretofore by her. And while she fervently implores the assistance of the supreme Father of all, and the gracious concurrence of those whom the Almighty will has placed in high rank and power for the protection of the widow and orphan; and while her heart was glowing with gratitude to the public, so for their uninterrupted benevolence, she begins to flatter herself that as Finn's paper was deemed to be an original ornament, so it will be supported and held forth as a living monument of literature and taste in the city of Kilkenny."

The widow Finn was a shrewd woman. In her piety and reverence for the rich and powerful we can plainly see the attention of the widow turned to the list of subscribers, and that of the landed gentry and aristocracy of Kilkenny, and the adjoining counties.

It is hardly necessary to observe that "The Leinster Journal" was a genteel, moderate, stupid, and spiritless. provincial newspaper. Notwithstanding the Widow Finn's description of it as "a living monument of literature and taste in the city of Kilkenny," I must

confess I have not been able to discover in it, from first to last, any evidence of, and acquaintance with, literature, much indication of taste, liberal politics, or interest in any cause that was humane or patriotic. Irish news there was none in this journal, except of arrivals and departures from Dublin, accidents, births, deaths, and marriages, and occasional brief parliamentary reports.

In January, 1778, the size of this paper was increased, but not the price.

In January, 1786, "The Leinster Journal" was enlarged by an additional column on each page, and was then published by Mrs. Catherine Finn, widow of the originator of the paper, and so continued to be, certainly to the end of 1787. It was then published and printed in High Street, Kilkenny. The character of the journal was somewhat improved from the time it came into the hands of Mrs. Finn. It became one of the least objectionable provincial papers of Ireland, dallied with tolerant liberal politics, and no longer lent its columns to offensive tirades and insulting invectives against the Romish religion, Romish priests, and Romish principles, as it was in the habit of doing by the exceeding cautious, or rather cowardly, time-serving Roman Catholic originator of the journal, Mr. Edward Finn. Under the management of Mrs. Finn, the intelligence that filled the principal part of the paper was no longer concerning affairs at the Haigue, in Prussia, Austria, France, and Italy; Irish affairs occupied some portion of its space.

Mrs. Catherine Finn was succeeded in her business,

and the publication of "The Leinster Journal," by Mr. Patrick Finn.

In, June, 1796, Mr. Finn, the proprietor of "The Leinster Journal," an eminent printer and bookseller of Kilkenny, married Miss Williams, daughter of James Williams, of Dame St., Dublin (see Hib. Mag.)

Mr. Patrick Finn was succeeded by Mr. Andrew Henderson, who was succeeded by a new proprietor.

On 17th March, 1830, the name of the paper was changed from "The Leinster Journal," to "The Kilkenny Journal, and Leinster Commercial Advertiser."

From the several files of "The Leinster Journal," (from its commencement, in 1767, to the end of the career of its originator, Mr. Edward Finn) now before me, it would be quite impossible to determine the politics, polemics, party sympathies, country creed, or interest of any kind, in any question affecting the prosperity, honor, or advantage of Ireland, of the proprietor, editor, and conductor of "The Leinster Journal."

This journal, published weekly, had a very extensive circulation up to the period of that measure which proved disastrous to the interests of Irish manufacture, trade, and literature. "The Leinster Journal," however, survived the union and its results, and eventually changed its title to its present one—"The Kilkenny Journal."

Various Irish provincial newspapers were published previously to 1800, of which few particulars are to be obtained.

"MARTIN BURKE'S CONNAUGHT JOURNAL."

"Printed by M. Burke, Back-street, Galway." 1769—1779.

The earliest number of this journal I have seen is for May 13, 1779, Vol. XIX. It is folio size; of its twelve columns six were usually filled with advertisements.

Irish news evidently had no interest for a Galway public of a century ago.

"THE CLARE JOURNAL."

Enniss. 1776.

This journal, folio size, published twice weekly, was in being in October, 1805, and was then published by Francis Knox, and so late as September 19, 1822, by the same person.

"THE ENNISS CHRONICLE AND CLARE ADVERTISER."

[No printer's name.] Enniss. 1783.

This journal was filled chiefly with Government advertisements; was in being in 1803.

"THE LONDONDERRY JOURNAL."

Derry. 1772.

A moderate Conservative, and not very violent Protestant paper in its early days, has undergone some

change; professes now to be "Liberal" in its politics, and with regard to polemics, "Nonsectarian."

"The Kerry Evening Post."

Tralee. 1774.

The Wexford Chronicle."

"Printed for the proprietor by Thomas Millet Vize, Wexford." 1782.

This paper, folio size, published twice weekly, started into life with Irish parliamentary independence. The tone of its politics and polemics was liberal and moderate. It died out previously to 1798.

In a number of this journal for 16th August, 1784, we find the following:—

"Letters from America mention the miserable condition of emigrants: One from a very respectable person, dated Philadelphia, says that a vessel with German, and several with Irish emigrants, had arrived there. These poor people were taught to believe that they had nothing to do on their arrival but to take possession of the vacated and confiscated estates; but so greatly are they disappointed, that Black Sam, who deals in fruit, has purchased two fine Irish youths, and employs them in hawking fruit about the streets, and in the meanest employs. Irishmen just emancipated in Europe go out to America to become slaves to a negro. Other letters describe some of the better sort of emigrants begging

about the streets, cursing their folly, and representing various means by which they were deceived."

This journal relieved its politics with large quantities of poetry, remarkable in its way, being wholly destitute of any kind of merit, and very often of any meaning.

"The Westmeath Journal."

"Printed by W. Kidd, Mullingar." 1783.

This journal was largely circulated; politics and polemics were carefully excluded from its columns. It was in being in 1804. The latest number I have seen of it was for July the 19th of that year.

"The Athlone Herald."

"Printed by Denis Daly, Athlone." 1785.

This paper was printed on a small folio sheet. It was on a par with its provincial cotemporaries. It was flat, stale, dull, and unprofitable. The latest number I have seen of it is for June 16, 1802. It did not contain a single advertisement.

"The Athlone Sentinel."

"Published and owned by John Daly, Athlone." 1798.

This journal existed till about 1850. It was edited it its latter years by Mr. O'Boyle. Its politics were Whig.

"The Wexford Herald."

"Printed by C. Taylor, Main-street, Wexford." 1788—1789.

The earliest number of this paper I have seen is No. LV., Vol. 2, for December, 1789. It was printed on a sheet of coarse, common paper, small folio size; price twopence. It was by no means badly conducted. The matter extracted from English papers which filled its columns was usually far more interesting than that which was to be found in several Dublin journals of the same time.

"Lord's Munster Herald or General Advertiser."

"Printed and published by Thomas Lord, Cashel." 1788.

This is one of the many journals which the achievement of Irish Independence (*of eight years' duration*) brought into existence. Like nearly all the newspapers of the time, provincial and metropolitan, the tone of "Lord's Munster Journal" was national and patriotic.

The first number was published March 24th, 1788. It appeared twice weekly. In some of the early numbers of this journal now before me, the matter, arrangement, and tone of the articles, quality of paper and typography were by no means inferior to those of some of our metropolitan newspapers of the present time.

An electioneering address of a Protestant gentleman

of large fortune, but unfortunately, for himself, of tolerant principles and liberal politics, who was judicially murdered by the Wexford Terrorists in alliance with the Orangemen in 1798, Cornelius Grogan, Esq., of Johnstown Castle, is to be found in the "Wexford Herald" for December 31st, 1789.

"GENTLEMEN,

"Upon principles of freedom and independance congenial with the characteristic of your county, I beg to offer myself to your consideration, and request the honour of your interest and support on the next general election.

"My knowledge of the peculiar independent state of public opinion of this my native county, and a consciousness of my own integrity, without any bias or control but your dictates, upon constitutional grounds, are my hopes; which, with a flattering encouragement from a very respectable number of electors, embolden me to solicit the honour of representing you in Parliament; and if I should be thought worthy of that important trust, without professions, you may rest assured you shall never be deceived in the confidence you repose in

"Your most obedient

"And faithful, humble, servant,

"CORNELIUS GROGAN."

"Johnstown,
"April 10th, 1789."

In the same journal, and of the same date, we find an account of one of the numerous acts of summary mob justice that were wont to be performed in Dublin in the latter part of the last century.

"Dublin, August 14th, 1784.— Thursday, about twelve persons, armed with blunderbusses and other arms, went to the house of Mr. Corbett, in Christchurch Yard, whom they seized upon by strategem. After he had been taken into custody, some shots were fired from the house, which were repeatedly returned by the populace, but without any effect, except that Mr. Corbett received a contusion in the ear by a ball from his own house; the crowd then proceeded to the Earl of Meath's liberty, where he was tied to a tree, and received a dozen lashes; after which he was completely tarred and feathered, and paraded through several streets, but on the appearance of Sheriff Smith and Alderman Horan, he was given up without further injury. The crime of which he was accused was that he had, after solemnly subscribing to the non-importation agreement, taken into partnership several obscure persons, under whose names he had imported and sold large quantities of English manufactures."

"The Sligo Morning Herald."

"Printed by J. O'Connor, Limerick." 1793.

This journal was not in being at the commencement of the present century. The only copy I know to exist of it was for May 29th, 1793.

"The Sligo Journal."

"Printed for Mr. Gray, Sligo." 1800.

This journal still exists. The father of the present proprietor, Mr. Bolton, purchased it about 1810, from its then proprietor, Mr. John Gray.

The only file of this journal that has come to my knowledge is for the year 1793. The politics of this paper were Conservative; the price twopence. In 1810 the price was fourpence. The "Sligo Journal" is still in being.

"The Connaught Gazette."

"Printed by L. Conway, Loughrea." 1797.

Of this newspaper, exceedingly rare, and edited by the father of the late Frederick William Conway, owner and editor of the "Dublin Evening Post," the ablest newspaper writer of his time in Ireland, the only numbers I have ever seen or heard of are in my possession, from the first, which commenced August 21st, 1797, to No. 26, for November 6th, 1797; the size folio, sixteen columns, usually three or four advertisements, price twopence.

The politics of the paper are very plainly indicated in the following double-leaded article in the first number.

"At a time when the agents of faction strain every nerve to disseminate their nefarious principles, when

men under the plausible mark of *patriotism* endeavour by the most insidious language to plant in the hearts of Irishmen the seeds of disunion, and in order to veil designs which must shrink from the face of day, have the audacity to assert that their only aim is the *public benefit;* at a time when the exertions of those men have, in some degree, been attended with success, the printer of this paper trusts that his endeavours to dissipate the gloom of discontent which has unfortunately pervaded the adjacent districts of this kingdom, and to rescue from anarchy and confusion the unfortunate dupes of artful and designing men, will not prove fruitless. He hopes to impress more strongly a respect for the laws, and a reverence for a constitution which the experience of ages has evinced to be the best that human wisdom could devise."

Mr. L. Conway was evidently resolved from the day of the birth of the "Connaught Gazette," that the light of his loyalty should not be hid under a bushel or be in any danger of not being duly discovered, and of course rewarded by a Government that at the particular time of the origin of this paper was notoriously buying up newspaper editors and writers on very liberal terms.

The last number in my possession, No. 26, for November 6th, 1797, contains nearly two columns of Government proclamations; but there is an obvious falling off in the printing, writing, and arrangement of the paper.

"The Drogheda News Letter."

"Printed by C. W. Evans, Drogheda." 1800.

This journal, published twice weekly, folio size, price fourpence.

The rudiments of a leading article at the period of the first appearance of this paper were not to be found in Irish newspapers, even in the capital. They are to be found, however, in the "Drogheda News Letter," and are usually headed "Abridgements of Politics."

This paper, Conservative and anti-national, and therefore patronised by Government, was duly rewarded by official advertisements on a large scale. It was in being in September, 1812, and was then printed by C. Evans.

"The Herald."

Clonmel.

"Printed by George Grace, of that town. 1800.

This journal, published twice weekly by George Grace and his sons, of Tory principles, had a large circulation. On the death of George Grace, it was published by W. Upton, in whose hands it existed till its end in 1836.

Armagh.

It is very extraordinary that in the principal strongholds of the Protestant religion in Ireland intellectual energies should have been so little excited and awakened

as they were. We are told that Armagh was most happily circumstanced, that—

"This city became at an early period a centre of civilization, and the chief seat of learning and religion. It has long been a favoured residence of many gentlemen and eminent persons; its manufacturers also rank high amongst the most spirited of the merchants of North Ireland. The population of the city is large. The country is agricultural, but linen weaving is extensively carried on in several of the towns. It is one of the largest and most important inland cities in Ireland; having an immense linen, flax, and grain market. It is the seat of the Metropolitan See and the Archbishop of Ireland."

How comes it to pass that printing, and in an especial manner newspaper printing, was introduced into Belfast, Cork, Waterford, Limerick, and Kilkenny long before it made its way into Armagh?

Not one word relating to early Irish printing in Armagh is to be found in any of the editions of Dr. Cotton's Topographical Gazetteer. No newspaper was printed in Armagh prior to 1800.

Galway, the capital of a large county, "the city of the tribes," in which is situated one of the Queen's Colleges, is certainly not conspicuous for literary establishments, for book shops, for periodicals, for evidence in fact of literary taste on the part of its inhabitants.

Nevertheless it is not deserving of the wholesale exaggerations, and snarling observations, half malignant, jocular, half jibing, wholly unreliable, *à la* Thackeray, that are to be found in the following paragraph in "The Dublin Literary Gazette" of 1830, page 478:—

"Galway is now comparatively an obscure town; it has but little wealth, but little commercial spirit; no taste, and we believe, no literature. There is not a bookseller's shop within it, or in the seven surrounding counties."

That statement as to the book shops most assuredly does not apply to Galway in the year 1865. When I visited that city I found three book shops, two exclusively for the sale of books.

Archdeacon Cotton, in the third edition of his Topographical Gazetteer, published 1866, at page 80, refers to a statement in "Le Bibliophila Belge," Tome IV., page 43, to the effect that "In the year 1843 there were from sixty to eighty towns in Ireland of not less than 2,500 inhabitants, without one bookseller's shop; and still more remarkable, that there are six counties in which there is not a single book shop, nor a single reading room." The editor affirms these statements are taken from English newspapers. Dr. Cotton affirms "there is no ground for these sweeping assertions."

The first printer in Cashel, Archdeacon Cotton, in his "Topographical Gazetteer," 3rd Ed., Oxford, 1866,

says, was Thomas Lord, who transferred to Cashel from Youghal his press, about 1786.

In Roscrea a printing press was established by Thomas Lord, the same person who introduced printing into Cashel in 1786.

CHAPTER V.

"Saunders' News Letter and Daily Advertiser."

Dublin. 1755.

This paper must not be confounded with the "Newsletter," printed and published on Cork Hill, by R. Reilly, in 1736, nor with another "News Letter," printed and published by James Esdall, in Copper Alley, in 1746.

James Esdall, a printer and bookseller, who had been an apprentice of George Faulkner's, printed and published a newspaper called "Esdall's News Letter" in 1745; but Esdall must have either pirated the title of Reilly's "News Letter," which was published in 1737, or Reilly's paper died out and merged in Esdall's "News Letter" of 1745, and at the time of Esdall's death in 1755, Henry Saunders's paper, called "Saunders' News Letter" came into being.

The publisher of Lucas's Addresses, in the paper entitled the "Censor," printed by Esdall in 1749, brought the persecuting hand of power on the head of

the unfortunate printer. Esdall had to fly, and to leave his wife to battle with his opponents in the Castle and in Parliament. In fact, the publication of Lucas's productions in the "Censor," brought Esdall to the verge of ruin. He died in 1755, and the "News Letter" then became the property of Mr. Henry Saunders, who had been in Esdall's employment, from whom the paper obtained the name it still retains of "Saunders' News Letter."*

The size of this venerable journal, at its commencement published once weekly, was thirteen inches in length by ten inches in width, a single sheet of four pages, each leaf printed on both sides, the matter printed in twelve columns. The first three columns were usually well filled with foreign news; Dutch and French brought over in English newspapers by the mail which had arrived latest. A column and a half contained extracts from the English journals, embodying all the latest London news. A quarter of a column, sometimes half a column, and very rarely indeed a column was devoted to Irish Intelligence, and one column to poetry, laudatory of his sacred Majesty George II. or his representative in Ireland on great occasions, such as a vice-regal arrival or departure, ending with obituary notices, or the marriage of some beautiful young lady, of most amiable disposition and engaging manners, having a fortune of two thousand pounds. Of the four leaves the two last were generally filled with advertisements.

* Gilbert's Hist. of Dub., Vol. II., p. 16.

If "The Dublin News Letter" had been published in Iceland it could not be more destitute of all Irish news, of all intelligence respecting Irish commerce, science, arts, and literature. Whether Ireland possessed a parliament, or the people were Jewish, Mohammedan, or Christian; whether the proprietors were Tories, Whigs, or Radicals, you might read half a dozen numbers of "The Dublin News Letter" and find it impossible to ascertain any of these matters satisfactorily.

Henry Saunders, when he commenced his journal, was living in Christ Church Place. Subsequently he lived in Castle Street, and in 1773 was residing at No. 20, Great Ship Street, where he died a Sheriff's Peer in 1788.

Saunders' journal, originally published thrice weekly, in one sheet folio of twelve columns, was eventually enlarged to sixteen columns.

It was made a daily paper in June, 1777.

A paragraph writer for the newspaper press of Dublin of about a century ago, Mr. Peter Seguin, is described, by a writer well acquainted with the newspaper literature, and those connected with it in the latter part of the last century, as "a man of shrewd intelligence, to a suggestion of whose, to publish his paper daily, Mr. Potts, the proprietor of "Saunders' News Letter," was indebted for an additional £800 a year to his income from the "News Letter." The suggestion was entirely successful, and the pecuniary advantage derived from it was that the proprietors converted it

into a daily journal. An occasional dinner was all poor Seguin got for his valuable suggestion. But there is nothing held so cheap in Ireland as original ideas, however grand, comprehensive, and practicable they may be.

The writer in "Ireland's Mirror," previously referred to, alluding to the return which Seguin's happy idea met with at the hands of the newspaper proprietor who was enriched by it, observes:—

"The way in which the labours and the results of the communicated ideas of men of genius and intelligence are dealt with and rewarded in this excellently constituted country we have an example of before us. But the opinions of physicians, and even of lawyers, men of professions (by the exercise of which livelihoods are gained) are, in this country, not unfrequently sought in an elymosynary way. People in Ireland have no idea of annexing value to anything but objects that are perceptible or tangible to the senses. *They have no idea of the value of an idea.* It signifies nothing to them that the germ of great results may be in that mere idea, that, like emanations from the sun, may be productive of a golden harvest. Probably on this account it was that Fontenelle said—good natured man though he was—'that had he truths of great value and importance in their results he would commit them to the flames.' He felt he would get no thanks for them. If he lived in Ireland he would find his pearls would not only be thrown to swine, but persecution, or contempt, or starvation

would be the only reward the merit of them would meet with in this country."*

"Saunders' News Letter," from the beginning of 1768 to the end of 1770, was printed by Henry Saunders in Castle Street.

An account of a single number for September 29, 1769, will give some idea of the commercial character of the paper.

The size had been increased to eighteen inches by twelve, the matter divided into twelve columns, of which ten and a half were filled with advertisements, one column with foreign and London intelligence, and half a column was liberally devoted to Irish news.

Of the Irish news, consisting of outrages and accidents, there is a pleasing variety. A Whiteboy outrage in the County Kilkenny; an attack on the house of the Rev. Mervyn Archall in the Queen's County, carrying off his steward, a tither of his reverence on horse-back in a state of nudity, galloping the abducted tithe setter upwards of four miles, shouting all the way, and sounding horns in a frightful and frantic manner, and then dismounting the appalled tither, minus habiliments, to administer an oath to him, never more to value or set tithes for his Reverence the Rector of Attanagh, and then with dreadful threats dismissing the terrified servant in the cool of the morning, after much severe usage.

Then the Dublin public are regaled with a Review in

* "Ireland's Mirror." Authors of Ireland. Vol. II., p. 420.

the Phœnix Park; a highway robbery in Sycamore Alley; several arrivals and departures of ladies and gentlemen in the packets to and from Holyhead; six marriages, and an equal number of deaths.

Thus Ireland and all its interests, its Pale and penal code, regime, Parliament, Established Church, and all its anomalies were done by Mr. Henry Potts in the "Saunders' News Letter," September 29, 1769.

In 1791 "Saunders' News Letter" was published by James Potts. The brutal editor of "The Dublin Journal," Mr. John Giffard, in 1794, made war in his journal on Mr. Potts *more suo*, accusing him of entertaining disloyal and seditious sentiments. Mr. Potts retaliated in his paper on Giffard, and on the following day, the Sabbath, the pious ultra-loyalist Giffard, aided by his son, Harding Giffard, subsequently Chief-Justice of Ceylon, committed a savage assault on Mr. Potts at the door of the Protestant Church of Taney, in the county Dublin. An action was taken for this outrage, and Giffard was sentenced to four months' imprisonment; but the Government kindly interposed; the sentence was commuted to a small fine by the Lord Lieutenant.

James Potts died in 1796, and was succeeded by John Potts, who carried on the paper, on Tory and genuine Protestant principles up to 1800.

In January, 1798, the "Saunders' News Letter" was printed and published by John Potts, at No. 74, Dame Street.

In the number for April 23, 1798, printed by J. and

E. Potts, the size was then the same as in 1768, the price three half-pence. The advertisements were reduced to two columns, the Irish intelligence increased to four columns on an average.

Perhaps of all the Irish newspapers of 1798 "Saunders' News Letter" is the most important for its intelligence respecting the rebellion, bearing in mind that the politics and polemics of the managers of that paper allowed them to see nothing except as matters were viewed by the Government and the Orangemen of the time who were in alliance with it.

In 1799 and 1800 the files of "Saunders' News Letter" are comparatively valueless. Other newspapers gave fair reports of speeches that were made in opposition to the Union; but that was not the case with the "Saunders'." In all that relates to that most momentous measure—the Union—the "Saunders' News Letter" was uniformly unfair, and wholly hostile to any efforts made in opposition to Government.

In the "Saunders' News Letter" for July 15, 1800 we find a column of a Government Proclamation, offering rewards for the capture of thirty-six persons, described as "murderers, robbers, and deserters," the large majority of whom had been implicated, or suspected of so being, in the late rebellion. Amongst those named and described we find first on the list—"Michl. Dwyer, about thirty-one years, five feet nine or ten inches high, very straight back, short neck, square shoulders, a little in-kneed, rather long-legged, with a small rise on the

shin bones, very long feet, black hair and complexion, broad across the eyes, which are black, *short cocked nose*, wide mouth, thin lips, even teeth, but separate, *very long from nose to chin*, full-breasted, rather full-faced, born in Imale. Five Hundred Guineas for taking him."

The next on the list—"John Mernagh (one of Dwyer's men), thirty years of age, born in or near Glen Malur. Two Hundred Guineas for taking him."

The next—"John Harman (one of Dwyer's men), twenty-two years of age. Two Hundred Guineas for taking him."

The next—"John Porter, twenty-two years of age (one of Dwyer's men), born near the Seven Churches. Two Hundred Guineas for taking him."

The next—"Andrew Thomas, twenty-five years of age (one of Dwyer's men), born near Anamoe. Two Hundred Guineas for taking him."

The next—"Thomas Halpen, thirty-five years of age (one of Dwyer's men). Two Hundred Guineas for taking him."

"Martin Burke, born at or near Imale (one of Dwyer's men)." No reward or age mentioned.

"Lawrence Harman, brother to John Harman, thirty-four years of age (one of Dwyer's men)." No reward mentioned.

"Nicholas Harman, twenty-nine years of age, brother of John and Lawrence Harman (one of Dwyer's men)." No reward mentioned.

"James Kelly, son of Ned, twenty-one years of age, and James Kelly, son of Tom, twenty-five years of age (both Dwyer's men)." No reward mentioned.

A Proclamation, dated August the 8th, 1800, appeared in "Saunders' News Letter," appointing Patrick Duigenan and four others commissioners for ascertaining the compensation to be made to bodies corporate and to individuals, in respect to those boroughs and towns which should cease to send members to parliament after the Union; and compensation to all persons whose offices should be discontinued.

In "Saunders' News Letter" for January, 1800, we find the following obituary notice:—

"Died. At Barry's hall, co. of Cork, Timothy Deasy, Esq., a Roman Catholic Justice of Peace.

In same paper of the 7th January, 1800, we find another obituary notice of a great celebrity in his day:—

"Died in Dublin, the Rev. Dean Kirwan."

One of the most remarkable peculiarities of "Saunders' News Letter," from the commencement of its career to a recent period, was the absence of original articles, commenting on the news of the day that was of paramount importance. In "Saunders' News Letter" the managers allowed all this to be done for them in England. There was something specious in the chief reasons occasionally assigned for this practice. The varied talent that could be subsidised by the London press and brought to bear on every passing subject of interest, could not be expected to be available in Ireland for the

preparation of articles for an Irish newspaper. Therefore, the managers of "Saunders' News Letter" had recourse to the London newspapers, and to them solely, for public opinion on all subjects relating to Irish interests.

The managers of the "News Letter," it was argued, could, therefore, select the best articles on each subject that were to be commented on. Moreover, these of other Irish journals were continually embroiled with their Irish cotemporaries, on account of the vehemency of their writings, in those various controversies which are carried on with so much acrimony in Ireland. Thus "Saunders' News Letter," on very cheap terms, managed to obtain a high character for sobriety and moderation, quietness, and respectability. And on that decent character, the "Saunders' News Letter" made a great success, and yielded large returns for nearly a century. Nevertheless, Irish Toryism of the old and worst kind, and Protestant Ascendancy of the most unmitigated character, never found an Irish organ more devoted, and it may be added, more serviceable to their interests than "Saunders' News Letter."

The articles extracted from the London papers, and published in "Saunders' News Letter," were always from those which were hostile to the civil and religious rights of the people of Ireland, and defensive of the principles and practices of the faction that monopolised the power, patronage, and influence of the Government by means of its alliance with Orangeism and Protestant

Ascendancy. No extract from a Liberal London newspaper, or even one moderately Liberal, ever found its way into "Saunders' News Letter," till a change, of a very recent date, made within the last three years, led to the old system being abandoned of depending on London journals for articles on Irish subjects, originally published in them. But this change is of a date which the limits of the subjects treated of in this volume do not admit of entering on here. Sufficient to say, that none of the observations just made, apply to the "News Letter" of the present times, nor to the enlightened man who is now the chief manager and editor of it.

That kind of impartiality which never expresses an opinion of its own, on either side of a political or polemical question, and has recourse (but for party purposes always) to opinions on Irish questions that have been published in another country, is very like that kind of candour, impartiality, and moderation

> "Which seems to soften party's headlong rage,
> The drivelling virtue of a canting age."

It does not want to be accounted violent and virulent in its Toryism and intolerance: it only adopts the violence and virulence of others, and says, in effect, the truculency that may be found in certain articles of the "News Letter" is not ours, it was only borrowed for our own use and benefit.

With persons of this class there are two states of being and kind of thinking, one, while they are exercising their calling, when they live, move, and breathe in

an atmosphere of faction—the other in private life, when they mingle in social intercourse with people who are not all Tories, or Orangemen, and Protestant Ascendancy champions. Then "much may be said on both sides:"

> "Too nice to praise by wholesale, or to blame.
> Convinced that all men's motives are the same,
> They find with keen, discriminating sight,
> Black's not *so black*, nor white *so very* white.
> Fox, to be sure, was vehement and wrong,
> But then Pitt's words you'll own were *rather* strong.
> Both must be blamed, both pardoned: 'twas just so
> With Fox and Pitt full forty years ago!
> So Walpole, Pulteney, factions in all times,
> Have had their follies, ministers their crimes.
> Give me th' avowed, th' erect, the manly foe—
> Bold I can meet—perhaps may turn the blow:
> But of all plagues, good Heaven, Thy wrath can send,
> Save, save, oh! save me from the *candid friend*." *

It is surprising how easily a character for moderation, candour, sobriety of mind, and even solid judgment, that confers claims to respectability, can be set up, and how long on false pretences it can be maintained.

This character was obtained for "Saunders' News Letter" at a very small expense indeed of talents and abilities of any kind. Bigotry, intolerance, injustice on a grand scale may be very moderate in its language, candid in its tone, composed in its mien, and even gentlemanly in its demeanour, and yet be very iniquitous and ferocious.

Generally speaking, whenever we hear a man vehemently extolled for moderation, we may look out for "a plentiful lack" of stirring energies of character, sterling worth, and manly qualities, that are as essential elements in the character of a man who has duties to

* "Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin." Second Edition. Lon., 1800. P. 228.

perform in the interests of truth, justice, and humanity —and who performs them—as light and heat are to human life.

It is considered very high commendation to eulogise a man by calling him *a rock of sense*, one who speaks little and writes less, who makes no enemies, because he confronts no powerful wrong doers, who seems to think a great deal because he expresses no fixed opinions, having no fixed opinions on any subject to express; who gets credit for sagacity more than common, because there is a certain solemnity in his look and manner, though the gravity of it partakes more of stolidity and astute cunning, than of sound judgment and of solid sense.

When we hear men thus commended, in any country, and of any profession, it is time to set our mind in order, to be prepared to have to deal with false pretensions to superior worth and cleverness, to find *the rock of sense* a solemn humbug, an egregrious dolt, exceedingly self opiniated, obstinate, and impracticable, and pretentious, impenetrable to all arguments that are not in conformity with his narrow views. A wise man will shun your "rock of sense" as he would any other bore, nuisance, or *nigaud à grand nez*. He will discover him at a glance. All his traits are those of a man of shallow mind,

> Of forehead sloping, 'villainously low,'
> Of cranium filled with crotchets hard to know,
> Of small, round eye, with craft and cunning big,
> Like that which doth belong unto the pig.

An animal who runs a-muck on every question of grave importance, knocks his head against stone walls rather than be advised to avoid any unnecessary peril, and thus proves how absurd and intractable a person, a poor creature can be who is cried up, for "a rock of sense."

CHAPTER VI.

"The Dublin Evening Post."

"Printed by S. Powell, in Crane Lane, Dublin." 1732, and subsequently for S. Powell, by J. Jones, Clarendon Street.

By a rare piece of good fortune I have now before me the two earliest volumes of this newspaper, for 1732,1733, and 1734.

The first number of "The Dublin Evening Post" was published June 10th, 1732; price one penny. The size of this paper, published twice weekly, was 4to., ten inches in length by ten inches in breadth. It was printed on each leaf of four pages. The number of columns was eight; of these seven and three-fourths of a column were filled with London and Foreign Intelligence, taken from English newspapers. One-fourth of a column was generously devoted at the end, to Irish news of all kinds.

A synopsis of the first number, for June 10, 1732, will afford a fair sample of the several kinds of matter that filled the eight columns of each number of "The Dublin Evening Post":—

London Intelligence of the Court and Parliament, one column and a half; Foreign Intelligence extracted from English papers, five columns and three-quarters; Irish Intelligence, three-quarters of a column.

The latter intelligence of this first number of an Irish newspaper consisted of various accounts of robberies and accidents, a murder of a watchman, a deputation of the Corporation of Belfast to the Earl of Meath to confer the Freedom of that Municipality on his lordship.

Whether Ireland had a people, a government, a parliament, commerce, a political constitution, a church of any kind, rights to assert, or wrongs to resist, "The Dublin Evening Post" did not appear to think it a matter of any importance to discuss or to refer to.

As this newspaper has become exceedingly rare, and the only two early volumes, the first and second, known to exist in any library have been in my possession, I think it may not be amiss to present to my readers a single number of this journal in its entirety:—

Vol. I. Numb. 101.

THE DUBLIN EVENING POST.

From Tuesday, May the 22nd, to Saturday, May the 26th, 1733.

Since my last arrived I British Packet, which brought I Holland Mail.

Seville, May 1.

ON the 27th past the Court receiv'd Advice from Oran with the following Detail of the victory last mentioned over the Army of the Moors and Turks before it. The Infidels decamp'd on the 19th past, late at night, and marching over a Morass, advanced within a final Distance of the Troops posted on that side to cover the men at work on the Fortifications of St. Ferdinand and St. Philippe: Their design was to secure the Troops, and surprize the former Fort, being the least prepared of the two for a Defence, but their March being discover'd, the two Companies of Grenadiers posted near the Baranco, or hollow way, leading to their encampment, immediately fired upon them: An engagement ensued, wherein the two Companies were obliged to retire, and the Infidels planted their Standard on the Place. The Marquiss de Villadarias being inform'd of what passed, detach'd ten more Companies to support the two former, and dislodge the Enemy of the Post they had taken, which they did with such Bravery, that after a slender Defence they obliged them to repass the Baranco; upon this the Moors divided into several Bodies, firing on the ten Companies from every Quarter, who, for Fear of being surrounded, retir'd with Precipitation: The Marquess de Villadarias, who had placed himself in the Fort St. Ferdinand, from whence he saw the whole Action, detached seven Companies more of Grenadiers, four of Spanish and Walloon Guards, one of the Spanish Regiment, and

two of the Regiment Victoria, to the relief of the ten Companies. The latter seeing a Reinforcement took fresh Courage, faced the Enemy with great Intrepidity, and put them to Flight, but soon after, the whole Army of the Infidels, composed of 9000 Foot and 2000 Horse, came down upon the Spaniards. When the Marquess de Villiadarias saw how Matters went, he order'd his Forces to retire, and post themselves under the Cannon of the two Forts, which they did in good order. The Enemy follow'd close after them, and fix'd their Colours between the two Forts where they remain'd some Hours, sustaining the Fire of the two Forts with incredible Resolution, besides that of the Musket-shot; for they were not above half the length of a Musket shot distant: Their Men fell so fast as at length forced them to quit the Place in Disorder, and recover their Camp as fast as they could, being closely pursu'd by the Spanish Horse posted near Fort St. Andrew. The King's Troops lost on this Occasion but one Major of the Regiment d'Ultonia, one Lieutenant of that of Savoy, an Ensign of the Regiment Victoria, and ten or twelve Soldiers: There are not above eighty wounded, and most of them but slightly. By an Express, which left Oran on the 22nd past, we learn, that by the Account of Deserters the Loss of the Infidels is much greater than was at first imagined, and that a general Consternation runs throughout their Army. 'Tis advised also, that Don Blaise de Lezze should cruize, with a Squadron of Men of War, before Algiers, to stop the Entrance in toPort of such of the Algerine and Turkish Ships as may happen to escape the combined Squadron of Spain and Malta, that waits for them before Cape de Bona.

Dantzick, May 11. A strict Union is observed between the Count Lewolde, the Russian Embassador Extraordinary, and the Saxon Ministers at Warsaw. The latter pretend to be no ways dissatisfy'd with their Negotiations with the Republic. According to private Accounts M. Maschinski, new chosen Marshal of the Dyet of Convocation, is in the Interest of King Stanislaus.

Vienna, May 13. A Report goes, that in case of a War, Prince Lewis of Wirtembourg is pitch'd upon to command the Army which will be form'd on the Rhine, and will have the Generals de Schmettau and Newperg to act under him. Another that several Polish Grandees have declared, they will choose no King against the Interest of the Emperor.

Frankfort, May 20. 'Tis confirm'd that a Treaty is concluded between the Court of Hesse Cassel and the Imperial Court, by which the former accedes to the Treaty of Vienna, and engages to keep on Foot a Body of Troops to enter into the Emperor's Service. 'Tis also confirm'd, that the Duke of Saxe Gotha has engaged himself to furnish some Troops to his Imperial Majesty: by which it appears,

that the Court of Vienna neglects nothing to be in a Condition to form a considerable Army on the Rhine, in case of Need.

Hague, May 24. Mr. Finch, Minister of the King of Great Britain, having received an Express from London, was, on the 20th Instant, in Conference with some Lords of this Government, and yesterday gave a Grand Entertainment to the Prince of Orange, and many Persons of distinction.

LONDON, *May* 19.

The 9th day of June his Majesty will review the several Troops of Horse and Horse Grenadier Guards in Hyde Park.

When the Parliament rises Sir Robert Walpole will go for a Month to his Seat at Houghton in Norfolk.

On Thursday his Majesty went to the House of Peers, and gave the Royal Assent to the following Bills.

A Bill for granting an Aid to his Majesty by a Land-Tax.

A Bill for repealing the Duty on Geneva and other compound Liquors.

A Bill for preventing vexatious Suits at Law, and for the better Recovering of small Debts in the Principality of Wales.

A Bill relating to the Holding of County Courts.

A Bill for filling up the Fleet Ditch.

A Bill for repairing Arundel Port, in the County of Sussex.

The Berkshire Road Bill.

The Hertford Road Bill.

The Ipswich Road Bill.

The Two-penny Scotch Bill.

A Bill for the Encouragement of the Importing of Sugar from his Majesty's Plantations in America.

Liverton church Bill.

Horsley Down church Bill.

Old street church Bill.

And to twenty private Bills.

Yesterday the five fine Horses which were brought over hither by the Envoy from Tunis, were presented to his Majesty.

Thomas Cotton Esq., who has been an Officer on Half pay for many years, kissed the King's Hand on Thursday last for a Cornet-ship of Dragoons on the Establishment.

The Earl of Cholmondely is to succeed his late Father in the Government of the Island of Guernsey, worth about £1200 per Annum.

His Majesty's Ship the Russell, a 3d. Rate of 80 Guns, and the Bredah, a Third Rate of 70 Guns, are now rebuilding at his Majesty's Yard at Deptford; several of the Royal Yachts have been

dock'd and clean'd, and are ready for service. The Carolina, William and Mary, and the Charlotte Yachts are now in the Dock, and order'd for a thorough Repair; the Shipwrights work one Tide extraordinary to get them finish'd; the Carolina has been widen'd and everything made commodious and beautiful, her old carv'd Work is all stript off and she is repair'd with new; the State Room and Great Cabbin are curiously wrought and the Pillars fluted, which are to be gilt with Gold, her name is to be chang'd from the Carolina to that of the Royal Carolina, and when compleated will sail for Holland to receive his Highness the Prince of Orange.

The Success Man of War, Capt. John Towry, is arriv'd at Portsmouth from La Vera Cruz, but last from Havanna. She came from La Vera Cruz the Beginning of March, when the Fair for Sale of the Flota's Cargo was opened at Jalappa, an Island Town about Midway to Mexico. The South-Sea Company's Factors had actually sold the Cargo of their ship Royal Caroline, Capt. Saml. Meade, to two or three Spanish Merchants (as supposed in Conjunction, and for Account of the rest of the European Commerce, in order the better to keep up the Prizes of the Merchandizes) for above a Million and a Half of Pieces of Eight, the Invoice of which Cargo, we are informed, amounted to £180,000 ster. The Flota was to sail from thence for the Havanna and Cadiz, by the End of April; but the Royal Carolina it was expected would not be able to get away before September: If the Spaniards complied with their Contract, and no unforeseen Accident happens, it's probable the Company may clear above £80,000 by this Voyage.

Yesterday the Commissioners of the Navy attended the House of Lords, with an Account of the Debts of the Navy, as it stood at Christmas last, which their Lordships are to consider off. Then they heard Council upon the Bill to prevent Stock jobbing, which is to be considered in a Committee on Wednesday. Ordered the Directors of the South Sea Company to attend the House next Thursday to be examined about the Disposition of £2,400,000, the Account of which is printed, and given to each Lord.

Yesterday came in a Dutch Post with advice from Dantzick, that the Russian Ambassador was well receiv'd at Warsaw, and makes all the Interest he can for the Elector of Saxony to be King, all the dispute is now between him and Stanislaus. The Protestants are excluded their votes.

We hear the Green Land Trade will be carried on again, the Parliament having resolved to pay a bounty of 20s. per Tun, on the return of every Ship, imployed by his Majesty's subjects in the Whale Fishery, for the future Encouragement thereof.

Abstract of the Votes of the House of Commons of England.

May 18. Colonel *Bladen* presented to the House (according to Order) A Bill for appointing Commissioners to examine, state and report, who of the Sufferers in the Charitable Corporation are Objects of Compassion, according to the Description therein mentioned; and the same was received, and read the first Time, and ordered to be read a second Time.

Sir *Charles Turner* (according to Order) reported from the Committee of the whole House, to whom the Petition of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the *East Indies*, was referred, the Resolution, which the Committee had directed him to report to the House; which he read in his Place, and afterwards delivered in at the Table, where the same was read, and is as follows, viz.—

Resolved. That it is the Opinion of this Committee That instead of the Time now limited by Law for the Exportation of Tea and Coffee and for allowing the Drawbacks thereon, the Time for that Purpose be six Years.

The said Resolution being read a second Time, was, with an Amendment agreed to by the House, and is as follows, viz.

Resolved, That instead of the Time now limited by Law for the Exportation of Tea and for allowing the Drawbacks thereon, the time for that Purpose be six Years.

Ordered, That a Bill be brought in pursuant to the said Resolution; and that *Sir Charles Turner*, Mr. *Drummond*, of *Quarall*, Mr. *Browne* and Mr. *Scrope*, do prepare and bring in the same.

An Ingrossed Bill for the better Regulating the Proceedings of Ecclesiastical Courts within that Part of Great Britain called England, Dominion of Wales, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, was read the third Time; and several Amendments were made by the House to the Bill.

Resolved, That the Bill do pass.

Ordered, That the Order of the Day, for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider further of Ways and Means for raising the Supply granted to His Majesty, be now read.

And the same being read accordingly;

Ordered, That the Account showing how much of the Money hath been applied, and to what particular Ministers and Churches, that was granted by an Act of Parliament passed in the first Year of his late Majesty's Reign, for making Provision for the Ministers of Fifty new Churches, and what remains unapplied for the Disposal of Parliament, be referred to the said Committee.

The Order of the Day being read, for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House upon the Bill to enable the

South Sea Company to convert Part of their Capital Stock into Annuities redeemable by Parliament, and for making the remaining Part the trading Stock;

Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the said Committee, that they have Power to receive a Clause or Clauses, for taking away the office of Deputy Governor, and to reduce the present Number of Directors of the said Corporation; and to regulate the Elections of Governor, Sub-Governor, and Directors of the said Corporation for the future.

Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the said Committee, that they have power to receive a Clause or Clauses to prevent the Directors of the said Company from creating or issuing Bonds without the particular Direction of the General Court.

This day at Noon South Sea Stock was 103 1 *5th. South Sea Annuity* 110 1 *8th. South Sea Bonds* £2 16 0.

DUBLIN.

On Monday last between 11 o'clock in the Morning and Two in the Afternoon, a conference was held between Mr. Abraham Judah, Teacher of the Hebrew Language in Trinity College, and Mr. Christian Fandy, a person who pretends to be the same, at the public Library of St. Sepulchre's, in the presence of the Rev. Doctor Sheridan, and the Rev. John Alexander, and several other Gentlemen skilled in the Language, in which meeting sufficient Proof were given of the before mentioned Christian Fandy's inability to teach either the pure Hebrew or any of the Rabbinical Writings, notwithstanding his mighty pretensions. At which time, on the other hand, Mr. Abraham Judah was much applauded for the understanding which he showed upon the Occasion.

Wednesday, one Capt. Lowe fell from his Horse, and fractur'd his Skull, by which means he died in a few minutes.

The same Day we hear the Right Hon Lord Viscount Mountjoy landed from England, at Dunray.

It was mention'd in our last, that Mr. Clements, M.A., got the Fellowship vacant by the death of Henry Hamilton, M.A., but the same was a mistake, the Fellowship being vacant by the promotion of the Rev. Robt. Berkley, B.D., to a Living in the North.

Males buried last Week, 31. Females 18. Males Baptized 14. Females 18. Total buried 44. Total Baptized 32. Increase in Burials 5, in Christenings 4.

PORT NEWS, King's-End.

Arrived, May 18th. Two Friends, of Dublin, 35 Tuns, from the Canaries, Wine. Nonpariel, of and from Chester, 70 Tuns, Merchant's Goods and 15 Horses. Pearl, of and from Whitehaven,

60 Tuns, Coals. Two Brothers, of Londonderry, 50 Tuns, from St. Martins, bound to Dronton, Salt and Brandy.

Sailed, Elinor, of and for Whitehaven, 29 Tuns, Ballast. Grafton Packet Boat to Holyhead, one Packet.

Arrived, May 19th. One Ship from Whitehaven, one from Ballycastle, and three from Workington with Coals. Nyland, of and from Milford, 40 tuns, Culm, Flower, and Ale. Advice, of Dublin, 70 Tuns, from Alicant, Wine and Almonds.

Sailed, John and Thomas, of and for Liverpool, 33 Tuns, Ballast. Hopewel, of Dublin, 40 Tuns, to Haverdegrave, Beef.

Arrived, May 20. Four Ships from Whitehaven, and one from Workington, with Coals. Bridget, of and from Dungarvon, 16 Tuns, Potatoes. George, of and from Chepstow, 40 Tuns, Bark. Mary, of Killough, 20 Tuns, from Strangford, Barley. Silvia, of Lancaster, 50 Tuns, from Chepstow, Bark and Sider.

Sailed, Johanna, of Dublin, 100 Tuns, to Bourdeaux, Ballast. Betty, of and for Chester, 40 Tuns, ditto. Hops, of and for Xtian Sands, 200 Tuns, Butter, Beef and Candles. Margaret, of Dublin, 80 Tuns, to Bourdeaux, Tallow Candles and Kelp. John and Stephen, of Woodbridge, 60 Tuns, to Liverpool, Ballast. Happy Return, of and for Whitehaven, 94 Tuns, Ballast.

Grafton Packet-Boat in the Harbour. Wind at E.S.E. High Water this Day at ¾ after 5.

WHEREAS the Trustees appointed by Act Parliament for repairing the Road leading from the City of Dublin to the Town of Kinnegad in the County of Westmeath, come to the following Resolutions.

Resolved, That a sum not exceeding Twelve Thousand Pounds be raised for paying off the Money already borrowed, and repairing and finishing the Road leading from the City of *Dublin* to the Town of *Kinnegad* in the County of *Westmeath*. And that no further Sum or Sums be borrow'd, without the Consent of the Proprietors of the Securities to be given for the said sum.

Resolved, That this Board will pay an Interest of £6 *per Cent per Ann.* for the said Sum, and that the Lenders shall have assurances that they shall not be paid off under a Year's Notice.

This is therefore to give Notice, That the said Trustees will vest the Issues and Profits arising by the Tolls and Duties taken upon the said Road in certain Trustees, for the Security of such Persons as will lend any Sum or Sums, not less than One hundred Pounds *Sterl.* And that Mr. *William Dennis*, Clerk to the said Trustees, is appointed to receive Subscriptions pursuant to the said Resolutions, and that constant Attendance will be by him given at the House of Mr. *Samuel Fairbrother*, Stationer, at the *King's Arms* in

Skinner *Row*, opposite to the *Tholsel*, from the Hours of Twelve to Two in the Afternoon, till the said Subscriptions are filled.

And for the greater Encouragement of such Persons as shall be inclined to subscribe pursuant to the said former Resolutions, it is thought proper to give this further Notice, that every Person subscribing any Sum or Sums of Money for the Purposes aforesaid, shall have delivered to him, her, or them, a Debenture Ticket or Tickets, for any Sum or Sums not less than One hundred Pounds *Sterl.*, which shall bear interest at £6 *per Cent. per Ann.*, and may be transferable to any other Person or Persons, who is or are inclined to purchase the same.

Dated at the *Tholsel* of the City of Dublin this 9th Day of May, 1733.

Signed by Order,
W. Dennis, Clerk.

THE House of *Stormonstown* being in very good Repair, and very neatly furnished, together with the Gardens and about twenty one Acres of Meadow to be let for a Term of Years, also a handsome Chariot, and a four wheel Chaise, to be sold. Whoever is inclined to treat for the same, may apply to Alderman *Caspar White* at his House in *Hawkins Street*, or to Mr. *Alexander Carroll*, at his office in *Skinner Row*.

Just Published by Abraham Bradley at the Two Bibles in Dame-street.

AN Answer to a late Book Intituled, *Christianity as Old as the Creation*, in two Parts. Part I. In which that Author's Account of the Law of *Nature* is consider'd, and his Scheme is shown to be inconsistent with Reason, and with it Self, and of Ill Consequence to the Interests of Virtue and the Good of Mankind. *Part II.* In which the Authority and Usefulness of the *Revelation* contain'd in the Sacred Writings of the *Old* and *New Testament*, is asserted and Vindicated, against the objections and Misrepresentations of that Author.

By John Leland.

Just Publish'd.

OBServations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, and the Apocalypse of St. John. In Two Parts. By Sir Isaac Newton.

Printed for G. Risk, G. Ewing, and W. Smith, Booksellers in Dame-street.

Just Publish'd.

THE MISER, a Comedy, taken from *Plautus* and *Moliere;* As it is now Acting with great Applause at the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane, by his Majesty's Servants. By *Henry Fielding*, Esq.

Printed for *G. Risk*, G. *Ewing*, and W. *Smith*, Booksellers in Dame Street.

ON SUMMER HILL, just beyond George's Church, near the City of Dublin, between Mrs. Rawdon's and Lady Gore's, is to be Let, a Plot of Ground 84 Feet in breadth and 250 in depth, for any Term of Years or Lease of Lives, Renewable for Ever, situate in a fine Air, free from Foggs, and the most beautiful Prospect about Town, sheltered by 100 large Elms young enough to be removed. Enquire of Mr Chr. Smith, at the naked Boy in Castle-street.

There is also a Field behind the above mentioned premises, about an acre, and 28 Perch, English measure, sufficient to Graze a Cow or Horse, to be set with it if required.

PROPOSALS for Engraving and Printing by Subscription *Nineteen Passions*, done from the Originals of Monsieur *Le Brun:* With a Curious Frontispiece answerable to the Designs.

The Conditions are

I. That the Work shall go on when Fifty have subscribed, and that it will be compleated by *Michaelmas Term* next

II. They are to be printed on a fine Demy-Paper.

III. The Price to Subscribers is Three *British* Half Crowns, one Half-crown to be paid at subscribing, and the Remainder on the Delivery of the Book.

IV. He that Subscribes for six shall have a seventh *gratis.*

N.B. They will not be sold to any but Subscribers under Ten Shillings and Tenpence. A Specimen of the Work may be seen at any of the undernam'd Booksellers.

Subscriptions are to be taken in by Mrs. *Hyde*, Mr. Risk, Mr. Ewing, Mr. Smith, Mr. Bradley, and Mr Moore, Booksellers in Dame Street, and by Mr. Simms, Engraver, in Crown Alley, opposite to Trinity Lane, Dame Street; where Gentlemen and Ladies may have their Coats of Arms Curiously Engrav'd for their Books or on Plate.

THE Lands of *Camage*, Scituate on the River Dodder, in the Parish of Rathfarnham, within Two Miles of Dublin, containing Seventy Three Acres, Plantation Measure, very well Watered

and Divided by good Quickset Fences, many of them planted at the Back with fine Elms, most of the Land being good Meadow, with a pretty Dwelling House and out offices, a large Orchard in the front with beautiful Walks and Hedges and the Quarters Planted with all Sorts of Standard Fruit Trees. Two walled Gardens Planted withinside and without with the best sorts of Wall Fruit, and in one of them a large Collection of Apples and Pears of the choicest kinds, grafted on Paradise and Quince Stalks. At a small distance from the Dwelling-House is a well Built Slated Farm House.

The Premises are to be Lett, or the Interest thereof is to be sold, being a Lease of Lives with Renewals for ever.

Whoever is disposed to treat for a Lease or Purchase of the Premises, may apply to *Thomas Burgh*, Esq.; in Marlborough street, or to Mr. Henry Buckley, Notary Publick, at his office in Castle Street. Dublin.

Note, A Person daily attends at the House to show the whole Concerns.

TO be Set a Lot of Ground in French Street, leading from York Street to Cuffe-street, belonging to Michael Cuffe, Esq., 138 Feet in Front, and in Depth 150 feet or thereabouts, for a Lease of Lives renewable for ever, or for any Term of Years. Enquire at said Michael Cuffe's, Esq.; at his House in Dawson-street, or of Mr. Thomas Smith, Hatter, on the Blind-key, who will treat for the same.

To be seen at the under-named Booksellers, with a Specimen of the Work, proposals for Printing by Subscription,

A NEW Translation of Longinus's Treatise on the SUBLIME; with Remarks on the Translation already made into French and English, and Observations on the Beauty of the Original, together with a Preface concerning the Usefulness of Translation, and some Particulars relating to the perfect Undertaking.

To which will be Added

Critical Reflections on the Whole, drawn chiefly from ARISTOTLE's *Rhetoric* and *Art* of *Poetry*, CICERO's Treatise *De Oratore* and QUINTILIAN's *Institutions*, and Illustrated by Parallel Quotations from the HOLY SCRIPTURES, VIRGIL, HORACE, SPENSER, SHAKESPEAR, MILTON, &c., with an Essay upon STYLE and particularly upon That of the SACRED WRITINGS, by way of Preface to the Reflections.

I. That the Book shall be printed in a fair Letter and upon fine Paper, in 2 Vol. Octavo, and delivered to Subscribers, neatly bound in Calves's-skin, and Letter'd, at the Price of half a Guinea.

II. That the Subscription is to be paid in the following Manner: A Crown upon subscribing, half a Crown upon Delivery of the first Vol and the remainder on Delivery of the second.

III. That there are printed Receipts to be given for the first Payment, signed by the Bookseller who receives the Subscription, except such as are signed by the Author for what Money he himself receives.

IV. That Subscriptions are to be taken in by the following Booksellers, Mr. *George Grierson* in *Essex Street*, Mrs. *Hyde* and Mr. *Bradley* in *Dame Street*, Messieurs *Smith* and *Bruce* on the *Blind-key*, Mr. *Gunne* in *Capel Street*, Mr. *Owen* in *Skinner-Row*, and Mr. *Thornton*, and Mr. *Heatly* Booksellers on *College Green*, and by Mr. Jones, Publisher of this Paper.

V. That all the Booksellers who take in Subscriptions, shall for their trouble be allowed a seventh Part of what they collect.

VI. That the Work shall be put to the Press when 250 are subscribed for.

N.B. The Author having engaged for a sufficient Quantity of fine Paper to be sent for to print the Book, proposes as soon as it comes over to publish the Preface.

A few will be printed on a fine Royal Paper, and bound in Turkey Leather, gilt, at the Price of a Guinea.

> Thee, bold Longinus! all the Nine inspire,
> And bless their Critick with the Poet's Fire.
> An ardent Judge, who zealous in his trust,
> With Warmth gives Sentence, yet is always just.
> Whose own example strengthens all his Laws,
> And is Himself the great SUBLIME he draws.
> M. POPE's Essay on Criticism.

In a few Days will be publish'd the Comparison between Demosthenes and Hyperides.

DUBLIN: Printed by S. POWELL, in *Crane* lane, for Mr. *Jones* in *Clarendon Street*, facing *Coppinger's lane*, where Subscriptions and Advertisements for this Paper are taken in, and by the Printer hereof.

There are several numbers of this journal in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. Haliday Collection is No. 45, Vol. for Dec. 11th, 1736, size 4to., twelve inches by ten, printed on two leaves; one side of last leaf is filled with advertisements.

Anything more dull in the shape of a newspaper as the "Dublin Evening Post," from its commencement, in 1732, to the end of 1734, I have not met with.

As to Irish politics, the managers seem not to have imagined there was anything of the kind.

In the quarter or half a column usually devoted to Irish intelligence, now and then there may be found a record of a great crime, or the death of some notability of the time, that may have some interest for readers, even at this distance of time from the date of the journal, a period of one hundred and thirty-five years ago. The following are a few samples of the Irish intelligence of the "Dublin Evening Post" of 1732, 3, and 4.

"The farmers in Munster complain heavily of the cheapness of provisions, butter being generally sold in Cork for 10s. per hundred, and the best barley at 3s. per barrell."

No. 9, July 8th, 1732.

"Last Saturday night died of a violent fever, Mr. Thomas Elrington, Deputy Master of the Revels, and Steward to the King's Inns, a man universally admired

as the ornament of the Irish stage. He had all the natural perfections that could be ascribed to the most accomplished player, and certainly will scarce ever be excelled in any of those characters which gained him so much applause and admiration. All who have seen him perform, will lament the loss of a man who has afforded them so much satisfaction in their diversions."

No. 14, July 25th, 1732.

"We hear Doctor Delaney, Minister of St. Warborough's, is lately married to the Widow Tennison, a lady of great fortune."

No. 13, July 25th, 1732.

"Last Thursday morning died Mr. Andrew Crooke, printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty, and is succeeded by Mr. George Grierson, of this city."

No. 15, July 29th, 1732.

"On the 31st of last month died Doctor Walter Harris, an eminent physician, at his house in New North Street, near Red Lion Square, in the ninety-fifth year of his age, and we hear he has left behind him a large personal fortune, which he has divided between his only daughter, Elizabeth Awbrey, widow, and his nephew, Walter Harris, a barrister-at-law, in the kingdom of Ireland."

No. 23, August 26th, 1732.

"Drogheda, August 27th, 1732.—This day happened here something very uncommon. About six or seven gentlemen from Dublin, being at the White Hart, speaking of the great character Doctor Taylor had for curing of the blind, one Mr. Tippear, an oculist, which is now in Drogheda, being in company (not known by any of them) reply'd it was a very easy thing to perform, if well understood. Presently two of the inhabitants of the town were sent for, a man 3 years blind, and about 72 years of age, and a woman upwards of forty-five years blind. Mr. Tippear, in the presence of the above gentlemen and several others, couch'd a cataract for the old man, and by the blessing of God restored him to sight in about the space of a minute, so as to see all the company about him perfectly well; he also cured the woman in the very same manner, at her own apartment, about two hours after."

No 25, September 2nd, 1732.

The above reference to "Dr. Taylor," the man of "a great character" for curing the blind, is deserving of some attention.

This very eccentric charlatan, who styled himself Chevalier John Taylor, Ophthalmiater, travelled over Europe from 1727 to 1759, a sort of knight errant oculist, who had given himself a title and a mission, actuated solely, as he stated, by the purest motives of benevolence, and an irrepressible desire to solace the sufferings of that portion of humanity that laboured under eye diseases,

in the principal cities of Europe. Therefore the Chevalier Taylor sought out suffering humanity in the several *Courts* of Austria, Russia, Prussia, Poland, France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal to relieve, and consequently he became very intimately acquainted with Kings and Queens, Emperors and Empresses, Princes and Princesses, and all grades of nobility of both sexes.

But the erratic *Ophthalmiater* appears by his own luminous account of his professional travels to have devoted particular attention to the eyes of the excellent and admirable ladies of the several courts he visited (happily for them), and to have been looked upon by them (when they could see) with particular favour, and indeed it would appear with more than could have been agreeable to their husbands, unless the latter were stone blind and never had been operated on by the Chevalier.

In 1762 "the world was obliged" with the "History of the Travels and Adventures of the Chevalier John Taylor, Ophthalmiater. Pont., Imp. and Royal." In three vols. 8vo., bound in one vol. In plain English, the Chevalier d'Industrie was "a Pontifical, Imperial, and Royal oculist" and moreover a V. E H., which letters some ingenious decipherer of secret characters may render—"Very Egregious Humbug"

In the title page the Chevalier states, he is "the author of forty-five works in different languages, the produce of upwards of thirty years of the greatest practice in the cure of distempered eyes of any of the age we live in."

In the prefatory notice he gives his readers to understand a matter which his modesty might as well have caused him to have omitted, namely, that his very curious adventures partook of the character of amours. In that notice he says, "This work contains all most worthy the attention of a traveller: also a Dissertation on the Art of Pleasing, with most humerous Observations on the Art of Prejudice."

His readers were not left in ignorance of the place of his birth. On that important subject he says, in language, the sublime simplicity and grandiloquence of which are suitable to the great moment of the event that is recorded: "In Norwich I first beheld the light! It was in that happy city I first began to breathe!! It was there I first became acquainted with the glories of the sun!!!"

To the preceding magnificent paragraphs, I must acknowledge the notes of admiration were not given by the Ophthalmiater. They were evidently forgotten by him, and therefore have been supplied.

"The History of the Travels and Adventures of the Chevalier John Taylor" is by no means inferior to the "Peregraciones de Fernando Mendez Pinto" in the astounding narrations of "Cosas Famosas Acontecimientos y Admirables, y Estranas cosas che vio y oyo."

The V. E H. Chevalier Taylor dedicated his great work—the history of his travels—to his only son.

Jerdan, in his "Autobiography," tells us that John Taylor (the well-known author of "Monsieur Tonson"),

his co-partner of the "Sun" newspaper, for several years subsequently to 1814, "was the son of a yet more celebrated sire—the Chevalier Taylor." *

There is a little spice of malice in this attempt of Jerdan to connect his partner, with whom he was at war during nearly the whole term of the partnership, as the son of the charlatan Taylor. Jerdan must have known John Taylor of the "Sun" could not have been the son of that eccentric person, for Jerdan was acquainted with that work of his which I have referred to, and therein "the Chevalier" tells his readers that "he set out from his native country and began his travels in 1727."

It may be presumed that Taylor, when he commenced a career, successful from the beginning, of charlatanry in the principal cities and courts of Europe, could not have been much under twenty-seven years of age. He must, therefore, have been born about 1700. He was not likely to have had children after 1750. If Jerdan's partner was born in that year, in 1814, he must have then been sixty-four years of age. And the probability is he was not then above fifty

It may be that the humourous author of "Monsieur Tonson" was the grandson of the exceedingly eccentric and V. E. H. Chevalier Taylor, Ophthalmiater.

"Yesterday being the Irish Rebellion (*sic*), their Excellencies the Lords Justices went to church in state.

* Jerdan's "Autobiography," Vol. II., p. 71.

The Right Honourable Lord Viscount Mountjoy carried the sword; one of his Grace the Duke of Dorset's chaplains made a most excellent sermon on the occasion."

No. 40, October 29th, 1732.

In the same paper, and of the same date is the earliest notice I have seen of the illustrious benefactor, and one of the founders of the Royal Dublin Society, Dr. Samuel Madden, in any Irish newspaper.

"Last Saturday, a number of gentlemen, educated in Dr. Sheridan's school, entertained him at the Eagle, on Cork Hill, where they entered into a resolution to support some reduced young gentlemen at the University, bred under him."

No. 46, November 14th, 1732.

"On Wednesday last, Captain Mooney and Mr. Maguirk were executed at St. Stephen's Green; they disowned the fact for which they were executed, viz., of forcing men into foreign service; but that they voluntarily enlisted themselves."

No. 73, February 17th, 1732-3.

"Upon the news of the Excise Bill being thrown out in England, about a dozen young men of the Liberty of St. Patrick's joined together to have a bonfire on the steeple, and another before the Dean's house, where they

gave a barrel of ale in tubs, to express their joy, and the following healths were drank with great solemnity, and at the close of each, a health to that *worthy patriot, the Drapier, who saved our town from ruin.* 1st. To the Honourable House of Commons of England who, after long debate, rejected the Bill for a general excise. 2. To the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and citizens of London, who petitioned the Honourable the House of Commons against the bill for an excise. 3. To all those members of the Honourable House of Commons of Ireland who will be against any bill of excise in the kingdom. 4. Prosperity to Ireland, by the return of all gentlemen of Ireland, who spend their fortunes abroad; and by the restoration and flourishing of trade; and by confounding all projects of excise. 5. To the honest people of Ireland, who opposed the wooden scheme of brass money. 6. To all the honest freeholders of England who vote against that ruining bill of excise. There were likewise several healths drank relating to the B——s and the C——gy of Ireland, which we cannot remember."

No. 91, April 21st, 1733.

"On Tuesday last there was a great battle between the people of the Right Hon. the Earl of Meath's liberty, and those of his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin's, wherein several were wounded on each side."

No. 95, May 5th, 1733.

"On Friday evening, the journeymen and apprentices of the liberties of St. Sepulchre's, Thomas Court, and Donore, were assembled together in Cavan Street, in order to agree upon a cessation of arms; there was a good quantity of ale provided for them, and after the following articles of peace were read at the head of them, they unanimously agreed to the same, laid down all their arms in a heap, and set fire thereto, during which time they drank one another's healths, and parted in a friendly manner."

No. 96, May 8th, 1733.

"We hear from Dunmanway, in the county of Cork, of the death of Sir Richard Cox, Bart. He was a true lover of his country, and died much lamented by all his friends; he had the honour to be Lord Chancellor and one of the Lords Justices of this kingdom in the year 1706."

No. 98, May 15th, 1733.

"Whereas there is one Mr. *Christian* Fandy, who styles himself a professor of *Hebrew*, and has published proposals for printing a grammar in that language by subscription. On Monday last, between eleven o'clock in the morning and two in the afternoon, a conference was held between Mr. Abraham Judah, teacher of the Hebrew language, in Trinity College, and Mr. Christian Fandy, a person who pretends to the same at the public library of St. Sepulchre's, in the presence of the Rev.

Dr. Sheridan, and the Rev. John Alexander, and several other gentlemen skilled in the language, in which meeting sufficient proofs were given of the before-mentioned Christian Fandy's inability to teach either the pure Hebrew or any of the Rabbinical writings, notwithstanding his mighty pretensions. At which time, on the other hand, Mr. Abraham Judah was much applauded for the understanding which he showed upon that occasion."

No. 101, May 26th, 1733.

"On Monday next, being the last time of performance this season, will be acted for the benefit of Mr. *Ralph Elrington*, the tragedy called the *Mourning Bride*, to which will be added the *Necromancer*, or *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*. The part of harlequin to be performed by Mr. *Elrington*."

No. 106, June 12th, 1733.

"On Friday last died Sir Thomas Mollineux, Bart., State Physician and one of the Honorary Fellows of Trinity College, at his house, in Peter Street, and on Sunday evening he was buried at St. Audeon's Church."

No. 144, October 23rd, 1733.

"On Saturday last, in the forenoon, a considerable number of persons of honour and quality went in a public manner to visit the Rev. Dr. Swift, Dean of St.

Patrick's, upon a late occasion which has made a great noise here, where it is observed that several of them had never been at the Deanery House before; and it's very remarkable that the name of Mr. B—— was not mentioned, nor anything relating to his affair."

No. 166, January 8th, 1733.

"The late tragical accident which has happened in our University (Dublin) has engaged the thoughts and conversation of all people in this city. The Rev. Edward Ford, M.A., junior, Fellow of the College, although a person of learning and piety, had unfortunately given offence to many of the scholars. This prejudice, however undeserved, could never be got over, but in all disturbances discovered itself by some injurious treatment of him, until at last he fell a sacrifice to popular dislike. On Wednesday, the 6th instant, between the hours of twelve and one at night, some gentlemen, it is thought in a drunken freak, attacked his windows. He had been often alarmed in this manner before, and had prepared arms for his defence. He opened the window and, with more boldness than prudence, discharged a pistol, loaded with large shot: the marks are yet visible in the tree opposite to the window where the shot lodged. Upon that they dispersed, but soon after returned with firearms, and began to break the windows anew. Mr. Ford, notwithstanding the dissuasion of some scholars, who by this time had come to his assistance, lifted up the sash to fire again,

but received two shots full in his face and breast. The wounds proved mortal. He lived three-quarters of an hour, in the utmost agony. Towards his latter end, being refreshed by a draught of water, and his sense of pain growing less exquisite by the decay of his spirits: 'Tell the scholars' (says he to some about him) 'that I beg their pardon for offences that I may have committed against them, and assure them that I sincerely forgive them.' There are four young gentlemen, of good characters, imprisoned upon suspicion of guilt. It is hoped that they may be found innocent. The evidences against them are, as yet, unknown; we have heard different accounts, and even contradictory ones; and, therefore, think it better to be entirely silent in this affair than to mislead the public by a false information."

No. 183, March 9th, 1734.

"Last Sunday died, very much lamented, the Rt. Hon. James Caulfield, Viscount Charlemont, and Baron Caulfield, having left two sons and one daughter. His remains are to go to Derry to be interred, being the burial place of that noble family."

No. 196, April 23rd, 1734.

"List of Irish Bills to which the Royal assent was given the 29th of April, 1734:

"An Act to prevent persons converted from the Popish to the Protestant religion, and married to Popish

wives, educating their children in the Popish religion, from acting as justices of the peace."

No. 199, Vol. II., for May 4th, 1734.

"We hear from Cork that the 3rd inst. (May, 1734), one Michael Carmody was executed there for felony, and that the journeymen weavers, who are starving for want of work, occasioned by the vast quantities of cottons that are worn, assembled themselves together, and dressed the criminal, hangman, and gaoler in cottons."

No. 202, Vol. II., May 14th, 1734.

"On Wednesday, 15th May, 1734, died of a fever at his house in Aungier St., Dr. Thomas Madden, Professor of Anatomy in Trinity College, Dublin, brother of the Rev. Doctor Madden, of St. Ann's parish."

"No. 203, Vol. II., May 18th, 1734.

"We hear from the county of Tipperary that one John Sergeant, Esq., last week shot one Dunlee, a noted and proclaimed Tory, as he was crossing the road."

No. 203, Vol. II, May 18th, 1734.

"May 14th, 1734, a mob of weavers of the Liberty rose in order to rifle the several shops in this city for English manufactures, and stopped at the houses of Messrs. Eustace and Lindsay, woollen-drapers, in High

Street, who having notice of their coming, shut up their shops—as did all the other woollen-drapers—at their approach. They forced off the hinges of Mr. Eustace's shop windows with hammers and chisels, but were prevented doing further mischief by the timely assistance of the sheriff and his bailiffs, who the mob attacked. They then attacked several other shops of woollen-drapers, but without committing any acts of depredation, except carrying off one small piece of English goods. Several were made prisoners in one house they broke into, and were sent to Newgate. They retired in a body to the Liberty, and threatened to pull down several houses if their associates who had been captured were not released. At length the army had to be brought against them, and a fight ensued, in which one of the weavers was killed. Large bodies of military are still parading the streets. From Tuesday to Thursday several engagements took place between the troops and the rioters; in one engagement seven were reported to have been killed, and nine wounded."

No. 203, Vol. II., May 18th, 1734.

"We hear that the Right Hon. and Rev. Dr. Berkely, Lord Bishop of Cloyne, hath presented the University of Dublin with a fount of Greek types for the use of the University."

No. 207, Vol. II., June 1st, 1734.

"July 12th, 1734.—The trial took place of William Crosbie, Charles Boyle, James Cotter, and Jacob Schools,

students, who were indicted for the murder of the Rev. Edward Ford, one of the Junior Fellows of Trinity College, on the 8th of March preceding, which trial terminated in a verdict of not guilty."

No. 1, Vol. III., July 13th, 1734.

[The first number of the third volume of the "Dublin Evening Post," for July 13th, 1734, came out with an illustrated title, consisting of four vignettes, one representing a ship, another a printing press, a third Britannia, and a fourth Commerce. The public are informed in that number the paper has ceased to be printed by Mr. S. Powell, of Crane Lane, and would in future be printed "by the Authour of the paper, Mr. Theophilus Jones, of Clarendon Street, who had set up a printing press of his own."]

"Yesterday, August 23rd, 1734, two servants of gentlemen quarrelled in Grafton Street, and after boxing for some time, one of them, a servant of Squire Westley, was so much injured that he ruptured a blood vessel, and died on the spot."

No. 13, Vol. III., August 24th, 1734.

"On the 23rd of August, 1734, the two hostile parties, of formidable numbers, of the boys of Ormond Market and those of the Liberty, heretofore irreconcilable enemies, came to a reconciliation, the result of which was a barbarous murder committed by the recon-

ciled enemies. A person obnoxious to the mob, named Paul Farrell, or Gallows Farrell, who had been a constable, was arrested for some misdemeanour, and was being conveyed to prison, when the guard was attacked by the joint force of the Liberty Rangers and the Ormond infantry. The unfortunate Gallows Farrell was marched off in a triumphant manner through several of the outskirts of the Liberty; he was assailed with sticks, and stones, and knives, and cut in several places. They mutilated the unfortunate man in a barbarous manner, and then dragged him, more dead than alive, with a rope round his neck, to Chambers St., near Clothworkers Square, where they hanged him, and put an end to him in a very inhuman manner."

No. 13, Vol. III., August 24th, 1734.

"The last speech and dying words of Joan Dyer, *alias* M'Gee, who was executed in Cork, near the Exchange of that city, on the 5th of October, 1734, having been convicted of feloniously and secretly picking the pocket of one Edward Read."

No. 26, Vol. III., October 8th, 1734.

"We are informed that the celebrated Persian warrior, Thomas Koule-Khan, is not a Burgundian, as stated falsely, but a native of Ireland, and that his true name is Thomas Culligan."

No. 45, Vol. III., December 14th, 1734.

The last volume of this very rare periodical, the "Dublin Evening Post," in my possession is the third, the last number of which, in this volume, is the 45th, for December 14th, 1734. Up to that time it continued to be published twice weekly, and in the same size and form as when it first appeared, the first number being for June 10th, 1732.

The "Dublin Evening Post" that commenced its career in the hands of the most eminent printer and publisher of his time, S. Powell, did not live long.

After an interval of some years, it was succeeded by a paper of the same name (in 1756), published by McCulloch, of Skinner's Row.

The "Dublin Evening Post," which commenced in 1756, came to grief at a period when it did not require "many vehement suspicions of sundry treasons" in print, or *in petto*, to bring an unfortunate newspaper publisher into collision with the law. The proprietor of this journal had legal proceedings instituted against him, the result of which was the discontinuance of his journal. It was again revived; and the proprietors having a wholesome fear of the Attorney-General, and apprehension of the fate of the unfortunate publisher of the former series of this journal before their eyes, the patriotic managers of the "Evening Post," talked a good deal in "King Cambyses' vein," of strenuous efforts on their parts to promote "the interests of liberty, of virtue, and of their country;" but the evident object of the prudent proprietors was to play fast and

loose with politics and polemics, and to take especial care to guard themselves from any proclamation of a policy or a principle it was their intention or pretension to support.

"THE DUBLIN EVENING POST."

"Printed and published by T. H. Powell, No. 20, Dame Street, Dublin." 1778—1800.

The first paper of this title, published by S. Powell, of Crane Lane, that originated in 1732, appears to have died out several years previously to the establishment of the paper with the same title, printed by Alexander McCullock, of Skinner's Row, and of the paper with the same title printed by T. H. Powell, above described, which may be designated the Third Series of the "Dublin Evening Post."

The first number of that paper was of the date of February 3rd, 1778. It was published thrice weekly, but not one number of its predecessors exists in the "Dublin Evening Post" office.

From December 31st, 1778, T. H. Powell ceased to be the printer and publisher of the paper. The latter was succeeded by C. Campbell, of 20, Dame Street, and from April 3rd, 1779, the place of publication was 11, Trinity Street.

In No. 143, for December, 1778, the proprietors, referring to the marked success of their paper, observe that "the sale of each number was above three thousand."

It must be observed that there had been an incorporation of a newspaper called the "Dublin Evening Journal" in the "Dublin Evening Post" a short time previously. The fact was announced in the "Dublin Evening Journal" for July 9th, 1778. And in No. 69 of the "Dublin Evening Post," for July 11th, 1778, that incorporation is spoken of as having taken place.

This series of the "Dublin Evening Post" was, then, as it had been from its origin, in February, 1778, a thrice-weekly published paper.

Mr. Conway, the late editor of the "Dublin Evening Post," considered the above-mentioned series as that which came down to his time, and of which he eventually became the sole editor and proprietor.

The new series of the "Dublin Evening Post," in the form in which it exists to the present time, made its appearance in the latter part of 1777, and was "printed for the proprietors, at No. 20, Dame Street, price three halfpence." In April, 1779, the place of publication was changed to 11, Trinity Street, and continued to be so to 1845, when it was changed to Suffolk Street.

Two previous attempts have been made to establish this paper, but on each occasion there was a discontinuance of the publication for some time. The latest series advocated Irish national principles from the commencement, in alliance with Whig politics.

In 1781 and 1782, several letters of a very stirring character were published, under the signature of

"Hampden," in the "Dublin Evening Post." These letters, addressed to the volunteers, were not only energetic, but inflammatory—but perhaps intended only to seem to be in earnest. I can state, on the authority of the son of the writer of them, that they were written by a Mr. Robert Houlton, a Master of Arts of Trinity College, and subsequently a member of the medical profession.

In 1788 and 1789, a violent warfare was carried on in the "Evening Post," on the part of its proprietor, with a schemer, on a grand scale, who had committed various felonious acts, and a little later than 1789 became the proprietor of the "Freeman's Journal," and on the part of Higgins, in the Court of King's Bench, against John Magee, the proprietor of the "Evening Post."

In 1789 the same warfare was carried on by John Magee against Higgins, in another paper of his entitled:

"Magee's Weekly Packet."

"Printed by John Magee, at 20, Dame Street, Dublin." 1777.

In the "Register of Securities of Irish Newspapers," under date of June 21st, 1777, the name of John Magee first appears in connection with the "Weekly Packet" (which was always in the same hands as the "Evening Post"), and his bond recorded for £200.

In Magee's "Evening Packet," May 20th, 1788, we find the following:

"A certain morning paper, whose complexion and character emphatically speaks its *source* and *connections* —grown hoary in every species of prostitution—has lately, in its struggles for existence, spewed forth against us some of its envenomed *lava*. We are extremely happy at such an honourable proof of our incorruptibility; and we feel that the candid public will consider it a circumstance more in our favour than the panegyric of pens dipped, as theirs are, in the ink of corruption. We boast the resentment of that press as the test of our integrity—a press whose shafts are levelled at honour, virtue, and public spirit—a *crater* of all human turpitude—whose praise is infamy, and whose lash is applause."

In the number of the "Evening Packet" for October 21st, 1789, there is a very remarkable caricature representation of the "sham squire" (as Mr. Francis Higgins was designated, on account of an infamous imposture practised on a respectable family in Dublin, by means of which a fraudulent marriage was contracted by him with the daughter of a respectable merchant, Mr. Archer, of Meeting House Yard, and Ussher's Island) in council with the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Clonmell, and a Mrs. Llewellen, the keeper of a notorious house of ill-fame, all with labels, setting forth their characters, and the circumstances in which they are made to appear.

In another part of the same paper, Magee addresses a letter to Lord Clonmell, in which he informs his lordship

he is indebted to him for being then in jail twenty-one days.

In the early part of 1789 a case of great iniquity was brought before the Criminal Court, by Archibald Hamilton Rowan. A woman of bad character, of the name of Llewellen, and an agent of hers named Edgeworth, for causing a child, Mary Neil, to be entrapped into the house of the former for base purposes, which were accomplished. The name of a noble lord, then holding a great military command in Ireland, was mixed up with this nefarious transaction. That noble lord — Carhampton — was a patron of Mr. Francis Higgins. The woman Llewellen was convicted, and sentenced to be hanged. The sentence, however, was not carried into execution. Magee states the escape of the criminal was effected mainly by the active exertions of Higgins at the Castle. (See the "Evening Post," of May 14th and 16th, 1789, for particulars.)

The warfare above referred to, which led to all the legal proceedings resulting in the celebrated fiats, the subject of so much discussion in the Irish House of Commons, and of litigation in the Courts of Law, broke out in May, 1788. The events growing out of this newspaper war soon became subjects of legal proceedings in the Court of King's Bench, then presided over by Lord Earlsfort—a little later Lord Clonmell. The Lord Chief Justice, being a personal friend of one of the belligerents, espoused his cause, and thought it consistent with his judicial dignity to manifest his private feelings

in his judicial capacity, in a manner singularly reckless of character and of position.

John Scott, subsequently Viscount Clonmell, was born in 1739 in Tipperary. His grandfather, one of King William's troopers, was slain in battle. Young Scott entered Trinity College, Dublin. He was called to the Irish bar in 1769. From the very onset of his political career, he was a place hunter and preferment seeker, and most eminently successful in those pursuits. In the Vice-royalty of the Duke of Rutland, he was appointed Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and at the same time (April 30th, 1784) created Lord Baron Earlsfort. In 1789 he was advanced to the dignity of Viscount Clonmell, and in 1793 was made Earl of Clonmell. He died in 1798, and was succeeded by his son Thomas, born in 1783.

John, the first Earl of Clonmell, married, first a daughter of Thomas Matthew, Esq., of Thomastown, in 1768. He married, secondly, in 1787, Margaret, only daughter of Patrick Lawless, banker, by Mary, sister of the first Lord Cloncurry.

The latter end of November, 1797, about six months before his death (May 23rd, 1798), the late Lord Cloncurry states in his "Memoirs," p. 46, that on calling on Lord Clonmell, his kinsman, at his country residence, Temple Hill, close to Seapoint, when about to proceed to London to keep his terms in the Temple, the old chief justice, conscious apparently of his career drawing to a close, said to young Lawless, "My dear Val, I have

been a fortunate man in life; I am a chief justice and an earl; but, believe me, I would rather be beginning the world as a young sweep." So much for the value set at the close of life on the successful results of an ignoble career at the bar and on the bench.

Lord Clonmell was a personal friend of Mr. Francis Higgins, the sham squire. Some curious revelations of that intimacy were expected to be brought out in the the evidence of a principal witness on the trial for libel of Mr. John Magee, editor of the "Evening Post," before Lord Clonmell, in 1790. But that intention was defeated by his lordship, who objected to any questions regarding the relations of Mr. Daly with Mr. Francis Higgins, or any other person.

In the "Evening Post" of June 30th, 1789, we find the following:

County of the City of Dublin to Wit.

The Jurors for our Lord the King, upon their oath say and present that Francis Higgins, of the City of Dublin, yeoman, being a person of evil name, fame, and dishonest conversation, and a common cheat and deceiver of the liege subjects of our said Lord the King, and not minding to gain his livelihood by truth and honest labour, but devising, contriving, and intending to cheat, cozen, and defraud one William Archer, a liege subject of our said Lord the King, of his moneys, fortune, and substance, for support of the profligate life of him, the said Francis Higgins, and with intent to obtain and procure Mary Ann Archer, the daughter

of the said William, in marriage, and to aggrieve, impoverish, and ruin the said Mary Ann, and with intent to impoverish the said William Archer, his wife, and all his family, by wicked, false, and deceitful pretences, on the 10th day of November, in the seventh year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, George the Third, now King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, and on divers other days and times, as well before as after, with force and arms, at the city of Dublin, in the parish of St. Michael the Archangel, in the ward of St. Michael, in the county of the said city, the more fully to complete, execute, and perpetrate the said wicked intentions, deceitful devices, and contrivances, did fraudulently, knowingly, falsely, and deceitfully pretend and assert to the said William Archer, that he, the said Francis Higgins, was possessed of, and entitled unto, a freehold estate, in lands and tenements, in the county of Down, of the clear yearly value of £250 sterling; and that he, the said Francis, had then an employment in the Custom House of the said city of Dublin, and in his said Majesty's Revenue, of the clear yearly value of £100 sterling; though in truth and in fact, the said Francis Higgins was not then, nor is he now, possessed of, or entitled unto, any estate in lands or tenements in the said county of Down, or in any other county in this realm, or elsewhere, nor had he, the said Francis Higgins, then, nor hath he now, any manner of employment in the said Custom House or elsewhere; and

the jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further say and present, that the said Francis Higgins, on the same day and year last mentioned, and at the place aforesaid, with force and arms, with intent to deceive and defraud the said William and Mary Ann Archer, and to prevail upon him, the said William Archer, to give his said daughter, the said Mary Ann Archer, in marriage to him, the said Francis, with a large fortune, did falsely, wickedly, fraudulently, and deceitfully, produce, show, and exhibit to the said William Archer a false, deceitful, and untrue state of a case, purporting to be the state of the case of the said F. Higgins, with the opinion of Wm. Harward, Esq., Barrister-at-law, thereon, in favour of him, the said Francis Higgins, and which said case had been before that time, there for the purpose of cheating, deceiving, and defrauding the said William and Mary Ann, falsely, knowingly, fraudulently, and deceitfully framed, contrived, and fabricated by the said Francis Higgins, without any colour of truth; and the said Francis Higgins did also, then and there, and at divers other days and times, before and after, falsely, deceitfully, and fraudulently pretend and assert to the said William Archer, that the title deeds of the said estate were then in the hands and possession of the said William Harward; and the jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further say and present, that the said Francis Higgins, by means of the said several false, feigned, wicked, and deceitful pretences, so as aforesaid

made, used, framed, and contrived afterwards—to wit on the 24th day of November, in the said 7th year of the reign of our said Lord the King, at the parish and ward aforesaid, in the county of the city of Dublin, with force and arms and so forth, prevailed upon and procured the said William Archer to have confidence in the said Francis Higgins, and to give her, the said Mary Ann Archer, in marriage to the said Francis; and he, the said Francis, then and there had the said Mary Ann Archer in marriage, and by the said false pretences, the said Francis then and there procured from, and prevailed upon the said William to execute a certain writing, bearing date the day and the year last above-mentioned, whereby he, the said William, engaged and contracted to give the said Francis Higgins a sum of £600 sterling, and also engaged that after the death of the said William, the said Francis should have one-half of all his, the said William Archer's worldly substance.—And so the jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do say that the said Francis Higgins defrauded him the said William Archer of the said sum of £600 by the false, wicked, and deceitful pretences aforesaid, in manner and form aforesaid, then and there fraudulently, wickedly, deceitfully, and unlawfully did deceive, cheat, and defraud, and by the same wicked and deceitful pretences, he then and there procured the said Mary Ann Archer to be given in marriage to him, the said Francis, to the great damage of him, the said William Archer, to the great discomfort, prejudice, injury, and disquiet of mind of the said Mary

Ann and the rest of the family of the said William, to the evil example of all others, in the like case offending, and against the peace of our said Lord the King, his crown and dignity.

"JOSEPH HALL and FELLOWS."

(True Bill.)

Thus in his old age, the time-serving, place-hunting, bench-aspiring barrister, coronetted, ermined, palled with success, and sick of dignity, too dearly purchased, thought—

> "Of that young ambitious ladder
> Whereunto the climber turns his face;
> But when he once attains the topmost round
> He then unto the ladder turns his back,
> Looks to the clouds, and scorns the base degrees
> By which he did ascend."

In the "Dublin Evening Post" of February 12th, 1789, a letter appeared, signed Tillotson, from which the following extracts are taken:

"That a certain prostitute print should teem with infamous scurrility and idle ribaldry can be no surprise with any individual who has heard the immaculate name of *him* who governs and directs it. When exalted talents, inflexible integrity, and manly independence shine out in a public character, and are invariably directed to abash the guilty and support the too declining state of virtue and religion, it is a natural consequence that villains should take the alarm, and make head against a common enemy. A late sermon, preached in St. Peter's Church, is said to have exhibited a burning image of a recent enormity committed in this county," &c.

"Will any virtuous member of the community assert that perjury and meditated murder are not proper subjects of animadversion from the pulpit?"

This communication commenced the war between the "Dublin Evening Post" and the "Freeman's Journal."

In the "Evening Post" of March 26th following, 1789, Mr. Higgins is "girded at," as Frank Paragraph:

"Last night a snug party was given by his Ex——, and that in the most private manner. Frank Paragraph and Doctor Pigeon, of Britain Street, were the sole companions of the M——'s festive moments."

"Frank Paragraph, the Stephen's Green attorney, is a little mistaken when he boasts in the brilliant circles which his gracious presence illumes, that he and the Marquiss have blown up the opposition. His slanderous abuse of every independent and respectable character in the nation is treated by them with no other than contempt the most ineffable. . . .

"Though Frank may exult in the wretched herd of lottery informers that line his hall, and with rapture secures the lottery pigeons that hover round his roof, yet Frank, whether as an attorney, as proprietor of a prostitute print, as the groom porter of the corner house, as companion of a V——y, or the humble drudge of 'old Ireland,' should not, in the day of his happy exultation, forget his original insignificance."

In the "Evening Post" of March 28th, 1789, the war began to assume a more serious aspect, as we may judge from the following article:

"The chaste pages of the 'Freeman's Journal,' which Mr. Francis Higgins, attorney, in Ross Lane, and justice of the peace for the county Dublin, has had the honour of registering at the stamp office, as his exclusive property—has so long and so invariably been employed in the daily abuse of every character, either distinguished for property or worth, in Ireland, those to whom Ireland looks up to with pride, veneration, nay enthusiasm; those to whose manly, spirited, and persevering exertions, Ireland is indebted for liberty, independence, and constitution. If such men as those have been slandered, their character traduced, and their actions misrepresented, why then should an obscure individual expect to pass unnoticed—one whose only boast is to have discharged that trust committed to him by his countrymen with integrity and honour, alike unawed by the threats of power, or polluted by a stipend earned by prostitution the most vile, and infamy the most detestable; if such men as a Charlemont, a Leinster, a Grattan, O'Neil, Connolly, Brownlow, Stuart, Forbes, &c., should daily grace the pages of the chaste 'Freeman,' why should not a printer occasionally be hashed?"

In the "Evening Post" of April 4th, 1789, a long poem appeared, entitled:

THE INFORMERS.

Tune —"The Night before Larry was Stretched."

The following extracts may give some idea of its merits.

"Pandemonium's dread court was convened,
By mandate from Beelzebub's Sec.
And a horrible gloominess reigned
Thro' the vault at its Sovereign's beck
The chiefs were arranged near his throne,
Each imp took his specify'd station—
All impatient until it was known
Whether anything threatened the nation,
Or their friends had relinquished the yoke."

[Beelzebub addresses the court, and particularly instructs Shamado-Higgins, yclept the Sham Squire, how to do his work, when the Sham replies.]

"'Tis well,' said Shamado, 'great sir;
Your law has been always my pleasure;
I conceive what's your highness's desire,
'Tis my duty to second the measure.
The deeper I plunge for your sake,
The higher I raise my condition;
Then who would his fealty break
To a prince who thus feeds his ambition?'"
&c., &c., &c.

In the "Evening Post" of April 9th following, Magee's muse is again occupied with Higgins.

A PORTRAIT.

"Through the long hall an universal hum
Proclaims at last the mighty man is come.
Cloath'd in a morning gown of many a hue,
With one sleeve ragged, and another new;
With bloated face, and little, swinish eye,
And every feature formed to hide a lie.
While every nasty vice, enthroned within,
Breaks out in blotches o er his freckled skin.
Here, dispossessing Nature of her right,
Envy usurps the sickly, palled white;
And anger, conquered by contending foes,
Holds but a transient empire in his nose;
While treach'ry in his heart, congealed, still reigns
And pours her sable current through her veins;
And artful cunning, simpering the while,
Conceals them all in one unmeaning smile."

* * * * * *

In the "Evening Post" of May 3rd, 1789, there is an account of the printer of the "Freeman's Journal," of which paper Francis Higgins, Esq., is the registered sole proprietor, being brought before the Court of Exchequer, to answer for certain scandalous paragraphs reflecting on the Court.

The Chief Baron Yelverton, addressing the counsel for the printer, said:

"If you had not mentioned that affair, the Court would not have condescended to recollect its insignificance, but would have passed it by, as it has done every other paragraph, whether of praise or censure, that has appeared in that paper—with the most supreme contempt. Let the fellow return to his master's employment. Let him exalt favourite characters, if there be any mean enough to take pleasure in his adulation. Let him continue to spit his venom against everything that is praiseworthy, honourable, or dignified in human nature. But let him not presume to meddle with the Courts of Justice, lest, forgetting his baseness and insignificance, they should at some time condescend to inflict a merited punishment."

Lord Clonmell, the friend of Mr. Higgins, and the subject of so much eulogy in the "Freeman's Journal," must have felt as much as Mr. Higgins this sharp rebuke.

In the "Evening Post" of July 11th, 1789, we find the following:

"It is scarce necessary to inform an intelligent public, that the 'Freeman's Journal' is registered at his Majesty's Stamp Office as the sole property of Francis Higgins, Esq., Stephen's Green, late of Newgate—Cut-purse Row, Newgate.

"It is equally unnecessary to state to an enlightened people, that Francis Higgins, Esq., was introduced to the Court of King's Bench, as a fit and proper person to execute the profession of an attorney, by the Right Hon. John Scott, then Attorney-General, and now Premier Representative in the Court of King's Bench to our Sovereign George III, King of Imperial Independence and ancient Ireland."

On July 6th, 1789, there came on to be tried in the Court of King's Bench, before the Lord Chief Justice Earlsfort (Clonmell), the case of Francis Higgins, Esq., Attorney-at-law, *versus* John Magee, proprietor and printer of the "Dublin Evening Post," for certain false and scandalous libels, tending to villify the character of the said Francis Higgins. The Judge having taken his seat on the bench, and the gentlemen summoned on the grand panel were in attendance, some surprise was excited at the non-appearance of the defendant, John Magee. He had previously notified his intention of pleading personally in his own behalf, and had, therefore, declined the assistance of the bar, or appearance by his attorney. But at the very moment the trial was called on, he was a close prisoner in a spunging-house, under a fiat issued by Lord Earlsfort, the Chief Justice,

before whom this new case was about to be tried in his (the defendant's) absence. A grosser violation of justice never occurred in a court of law in these countries. At this stage of the proceedings, the Sheriff addressed his Lordship, and asked if the body of John Magee should be brought up, to which the dignified chief of the King's Bench replied, "You may if you please, but I shall give you no directions."

The Court then proceeded to impanel a jury, and Mr. Higgins availing himself of his privilege, challenged two or three of the proposed jurors, who were accordingly struck off, and the jury having been at length sworn, the court proceeded to trial in the absence of the defendant.

The case was opened on the part of the prosecutor by George Joseph Brown, Esq., Barrister-at-law. The case was stated by Mr. Prime Serjeant Fitzgerald; and Counsellor Duquery proceeded to examine witnesses for the prosecution. After four of these were examined, Counsellor Boyde addressed the Chief Justice, and applied for a writ of Habeas Corpus, to bring up John Magee, that he might hear the allegations of his accusers, as it would be otherwise impossible for him to answer to them. But as Mr. Boyde was a King's Counsel, objection was taken to his application, on the ground that he should have prev iously obtained a license from the Bench to plead in that court for a defendant, and, therefore, the Chief Justice would not hear the motion. In this emergency, a gentleman who was not a King's Counsel, Counsellor Kellar, rose and made a similar motion on behalf of John

Magee, but the Chief Justice refused to hear him, unless he would avow specially that he was acting as counsel for John Magee.

Counsellor Brown, Member of Parliament for the University, hereupon addressed the Chief Justice, remonstrating against the hardness of the case in refusing the common privilege of every subject, namely—of confronting his accusers, or challenging his jurors.

Another barrister then rose, Counsellor Guinness, and repeated the application for the Habeas Corpus. He was asked by the Chief Justice if he was employed as counsel for Mr. Magee? to which he answered he was not, but he had come into Court to watch the proceedings at the instance of Mr. Gilbert, Mr. Magee's father-in-law.

This intimation had some effect on the "painted sepulchre" in the King's Bench. The Lord Chief Justice ordered a writ to be made out, and Mr. Sheriff Tweedy proceeded to the house of the bailiff where the defendant was confined, and brought him into Court. On his arrival there, Mr. Magee, bowing to the Bench, begged to be informed by Lord Earlsfort the reason of his being conducted from his place of confinement into Court? to which question the Lord Chief Justice answered, "To be present at your trial." Mr. Magee said that, "previously to the trial, application had been made for a Habeas Corpus, and it had been refused. He could not, therefore, consider the trial as his which was proceeding in his absence. While he was in confinement, a jury had been empannelled without his

assent, and charges of a criminal nature were brought forward against him without his being present.

Lord Earlsfort then observed that he (defendant) was now present, and might hear the charges against him read. Counsellor Browne was speaking to Mr. Magee in a whisper, when the Chief Justice interposed, and said, "Do you know, Mr. Browne, that it is contempt of court to challenge a juror, or suggest challenges without being employed in the cause?"

Mr. Browne answered: "I know not how that observation can apply to me; I have not said one word to the court or the jury. I am merely giving private advice to a man who seems, to me, to be hardly used."

The Chief Justice then asked in what capacity he acted.

Mr. Brown said: "As a man—as any man has a right to do for another, without being guilty of a contempt of Court."

The Chief Justice then desired Mr. Browne to act as *Amicus Curiæ*, which Mr. Browne declined to do, not being employed in the cause.

Mr. Magee hereupon said—"He had been refused the benefit of challenging his jurors, the benefit also of the Habeas Corpus Act, the common privilege of every subject of the realm, privileges not even denied to murderers. He, therefore, solemnly objected to the panel, and protested against the whole of the proceedings that day in relation to him, which were in violation of the laws of the constitution, of the Bill of Rights, of all men

of Ireland; and he therefore refused to plead or join issue on the cause. He hoped the gentlemen of the jury would not consider his objection disrespectful to them—for whom he professed the highest personal respect and esteem, and his readiness to rely on them on any question that could affect his property, or even his life. But in the present case he hoped they would consider him as pleading their cause and the cause of the people of Ireland, as well as his own."

Mr. Magee then demanded to be brought back to the place of confinement from whence he was brought, and Lord Earlsfort forthwith ordered him into the custody of the sheriffs. The sheriffs obeyed, and the court proceeded with the trial.

The alleged libels stated in the information were then read from the newspapers of John Magee, of March and April preceding. But in the way of corroboration several other paragraphs from the "Evening Post" of later dates were read. The case closed on the part of the plaintiffs. No defence was offered on the part of the defendant, then in confinement under the fiat issued by the Lord Chief Justice, before whom this cause was tried.

The Lord Chief Justice, having charged the jury, Mr. Browne explained his reasons for not acting as *Amicus Curiæ*, when called upon to do so by the Court. The only advice he could have given would have been to have recommended the defendant to have protested against the whole of the proceedings as being totally irregular.

The Chief Justice said it was irregular for Mr. Browne to speak then.

Mr. Browne said his reason for then speaking was to have closed his observations with an application that a copy of the record be given to the jury.

The Chief Justice said he had never heard of such an application before but from one man, and he had not been six weeks at the bar.

Mr. Browne said he wished to know his Lordship's opinion on this matter. He had his own, which would appear when a new trial came to be called for. It was understood that Mr. Browne was not unmindful that a copy of the record was given to the jury in the case of the seven bishops, without any application.

The jury having retired, returned to court in about half-an-hour, to ask the bench whether they might not find the traverser guilty of printing and publishing, without finding him guilty also of the libel.

The judge informed them they had nothing to do with the law in this case; it was only the fact of printing and publishing these libellous papers they had to consider.

The jury then requested a copy of the record which Mr. Browne had applied for, which request the court refused.

They then retired a second time, and returned with their verdict—"guilty of printing and publishing." To which the Chief Justice replied—"That verdict will

not do. They must either find the defendant guilty, or acquit him generally."

One of the jurors, Mr. Patrick, addressed his Lordship, and said: "The difficulty the jury found in giving a verdict was, that they could not reconcile it to their consciences to find a man guilty on a criminal charge who had not been permitted to confront his accusers or his jurors, or to listen to the charges against him, that he might be prepared for his defence. And, therefore, that the jury, having only heard the charges of the prosecutor on one side, without having the defence of the traverser on the other, they could not feel themselves warranted in pronouncing a man guilty under a charge of criminal intentions, not having heard what he had to say in his defence."

The Lord Chief Justice, in reply to these observations, said: "The very reason why they ought not to hesitate was the one they urged in support of their scruples" —the traverser's making no defence to the charges against him.—"He thanked God that, whatever was their verdict, he was not responsible for the solemn oath they had taken. For his own part he did not conceive how any honest man of common sense, who considered that he had a soul to be saved, could, after what had been stated that day, put his hand to his heart and say he did not believe the traverser guilty. He therefore desired the jury might retire and reconsider their verdict."

Mr. Patrick said, "they had already given the matter full consideration."

He was interrupted, and told "That the jury must go back; that they had not considered the matter fully; that they must—"

Here Counsellor Browne, of the college, offered a few words to the bench, but was stopped short by the Judge, who said, "He had already given the matter full consideration; that he had made up his mind, and did not desire to hear a word from the bar on the subject."

The jury then retired, and in less than half-an-hour returned with their first verdict, amended by the omission of the words—"of printing and publishing," and the verdict amended stood—"Guilty."

Upon this return, Lord Earlsfort, addressing the jury, said: "He would now declare what he would not say before, lest he might be thought to bias their deliberations. He thought they had given a just verdict, and had they given any other they would have acted in a manner shameful to themselves, and disgraceful to the country."

The conduct of the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland on this occasion was indeed shameful to himself and disgraceful to the bench. The private friend of one of the most flagitious men of any period in our history, stooped to the baseness of lending his high functions to the vindictive objects of that friend of his, Mr. Francis Higgins—of becoming a partisan judge, of perverting justice, and violating its first principles. But the importance of the unworthy conduct and sub-

sequent outrages of Lord Earlsfort on law and justice were strenuously defended in Parliament by all the legal Goverment officials, and those who were supporters of it. And for such conduct, be it born in mind, he was loaded with dignities and honours by the Irish Government.

The date of this remarkable trial, on which the Lord Chief Justice Baron Earlsfort dragged the ermine through the gutter in so lamentable a manner, was July 6th, 1789. The Viceroy and the advisers of the Irish Government, and the English advisers of the Crown, it must be added, evinced in an unmistakable manner their sense of the conduct pursued by the Chief Justice in his high legal station. "*Baron Earlsfort was advanced to the dignity of Viscount Clonmel, August 18th*, 1789, and Earl Clonmel, December 20th,1793." *

Poor Magee in his dungeon, three days after his conviction, solaced his weary hours in durance vile with pasquinades, setting forth the judicial merits of "John Scott," and the efforts he had made for his patrons—to make the patriots sick of their new-born constitution, by depriving the Irish people under it of the benefit of Trial by Jury.

In the "Evening Post," July 9th, 1789, we find the following:

"Legal Cookery;
Or the New Invented Dispatches.
A Short Receipt
To get rid of the inconvenient Privileges
Of a trial by Jury.

* Playfair's "Irish Peerage," Vol IV., p. 436.

"Take a judge's Fiat, which may *now* be obtained upon the most frivolous pretences. Lay your damages high enough to prevent the adverse party from obtaining bail. When the trial comes on, the Defendant, being a close prisoner, cannot appear in person, unless the Judge should grant a writ of *Habeas Corpus*."

A very remarkable satire, entitled, "The Junto," attributed to Hussey Burgh, appeared in 1789, in the "Evening Post." In this production the legal career of Lord Earlsfort, subsequently Lord Clonmell, was traced by a masterly hand, but with terrible severity, and his friend, the sham squire, was referred to in the same style and spirit.

The verses of Hussey Burgh were not published till after his death. They appeared for the first time, I believe, in print in the "Evening Post," July 30th, 1789.

They commence with an apostrophe to the right honourable legal gentleman, who is hailed as Fortune's fondling—a bravo at the bar—a bully in the senate.

"With full blown face and wonder-staring eye,
Which speaks astonishment and looks a lye;
And fierce and monster breeding seems to roll
Over a dark and subterraneous soul
Of vulgar, venal tongue, whose power of voice,
Shocks with impetuous starts of hideous voice;
Now deep, mysterious, sad, ingulphed and slow,
It moves the demons in the shades below.
Now striking at the gods, with quick rebound,
Lashes Olympus with a fiend-like sound,
As if some hollow, treach'rous cavern broke,
And turn'd in noise, confusion, filth and smoke.
* * * * * *
Who if, amongst his betters forc'd to be
Under the hard restraint of decency,
With face all meek, and manner all demure,
Sober and modest as a mincing ———;

Whilst the oppress'd blakguard still longs to flee,
To ease his soul, accomplished Frank, with thee.
Amazing man!—who too abandoned are
For Parliament—too clamorous for the bar;
Of thy friend's cheated mistress, false trustee!
Of every dupe thou common legatee;
The close besieger of the dotard's bed,
Who haunts the living but to rob the dead!
So mighty winning, and so mighty civil,
Meek as a slave and merry as a devil;
Who never frolicks but with knavish view,
Nor play'd the fool, but play'd the rascal too.
In all thy dirty deeds, no crime we find
Born of an ardent and impatient mind.
Of thy few lavish acts, sage counsel, tell
One that was born of real principle;
For self is still predominant in thee,
Thy kindness is forecasting knavery.
The cunning culprit understands the times,
Stakes public bounty against public crimes;
And conscious of the means he took to rise,
He buys a credit with the sports of vice"

If Magee was violent in the press against Higgins and his supporters, he paid dearly in purse and person for his violence. Higgins in his journal was still more scurrilous, and certainly equally violent in his invectives against Magee; but the shield of Justice was held by Lord Clonmell over all his delinquencies and those of his confederates. One of the latter, a writer in the "Freeman," Mr. Brennan, on July 30th, came to Magee's house in a sedan chair, knocked for admittance, and on the door being opened, rushed past the servant upstairs, with a bludgeon in his hand, crying out he would murder Magee. Fortunately Magee was not found, and thus escaped assassination, as he thinks. The furious bully searched different rooms, terrified the family of Magee, then rushed down stairs, entered the shop and commenced a work of destruction on Magee's property, broke all the glass of his presses, and his glazed doors, sashes, &c.

Magee swore information against the ruffian; he was tried for this outrage; but the powerful protection of Lord Clonmell was all sufficient for his safety. He was acquitted.

Brennan was the author of the productions entitled "The Unbiassed Irishman's Letters" and "Common Sense," in defence of the Marquis of Buckingham's administration.

There was a writer of the same name, perhaps the same person, employed on Arthur O'Connor's paper, the "Press," in 1798. He was imprisoned early in that year, and had the coolness to write to O'Connor for a sum of money, stating if it was not given, he would give information against them to Government. O'Connor refused the application, and wrote to the applicant, saying he despised his threat. This Brennan, when he got out of gaol, made an attempt on the life of Stockdale, the printer. It was discovered subsequently that he was a regular informer of the Major's battalion in 1798.

Magee states that Mr. Brennan acted on several occasions in the capacity of a bully for the Sham Squire, went about with a bludgeon on certain occasions, and committed assaults on disloyal persons—that is to say, persons inimical to Lord Clonmell's *protégé*, Mr. Frank Higgins. Brennan, according to Magee, was the son of the porter of the Lord Primate of Ireland, was educated in the Blue-coat Hospital, and had been employed in

Magee's printing office; but, as Magee states, while so employed, stole certain manuscript of articles published in his journal for Mr. Higgins.

The climax of Magee's libellous exploits was attained in the "Evening Post" of August 9th, 1789.

The Lord Chief Justice was assailed in very unmeasured terms of abuse. The old law maxim was verified in regard to it and its results—"The truer the libel the worse." For this libel a warrant was issued, and from the date of it, prosecution and persecution never ceased, till unfortunate Magee was brought to ruin, and eventually driven mad.

In the "Evening Post" of August the 10th, 1789, Magee invites every honest Irishman to a fete he is about to give at Fiat Hill, when the manly sports of foot-ball, and cudgel play will take place; also the chase of a Dunleary pig. Every person who attends will be afforded an opportunity of having a kick at the Fiat foot-ball.

In the "Post" of the 25th of August, a long programme of a grand fête at Fiat Hill, Dunleary, is advertised. Magee states that, in the absence of his respected friend, Viscount Clonmell, he was unwilling to terminate the Lau Braugh Pleashura festivities. They would, therefore, be renewed on his lordship's arrival, on the 4th of September ensuing.

These notices were likewise published in the form of broad sheets, two of which I place before my readers.

FIRST PROGRAMME.

IRISH FESTIVITY; OR

LAU BRAUGH PLEASHURA,

On the NATIVE DAY of the ILLUSTRIOUS

GEORGE,

PRINCE OF WALES,

Lately and unanimously appointed by the Representatives of a Free People, and their Peers—Spiritual and Temporal—in Parliament DULY asembled.

UNSHACKLED REGENT,

Of the imperial, independent, and ancient Realm of IRELAND,

During the acknowledged incapacity of his Royal Father, our liege Lord and lawful Sovereign—

GEORGE III.

Who unites in his Person, and wears on his Brow the Crowns of the Kings of IRELAND--SCOTLAND—ENGLAND.

LAMMAS DAY—AUGUST 12, 1789.

DUNLEARY.

IRISH FESTIVITY—OR, LAU BRAUGH PLEASHURA,

Sacred to the Birth of a Prince, not less distinguished for grace of person—goodness of heart—and liberality of mind—than abilities which dignify the human race—yet to his Father dutiful—respectful—and affectionate—as a good son must be to the parent, whose virtues he venerates, and whose happiness and glory are his daily, unceasing care.

Ist—

A BOAT RACE,

Free to every fishing or pilot boat, not exceeding 30 feet in keel, and carrying three sail only—over the expansive bosom of Dublin Bay.

To the crew of the first boat will be delivered a COMPLETE TRAIN of NETS, value Twelve Guineas.

For the lads to wet the nets, One Guinea.

To the crew of the second boat—three nets; and to moisten the nets, Half-a-Guinea.

All boats must enter at Dunleary Pier Head, before the Judges, on Monday, August 10—It is expected that the crew of each boat that contest the Prize, appear clean and decent, and such as good Seamen should be.

No boat will be suffered to sail for any prize that does not enter, and must be well and properly found in every particular.

Each boat to carry the flag of Ireland—a field *azure*, and imperial Crown.

IId—

A FOOT BALL.

The Boy that plays his game most active and clever shall be enrobed in triumph glorious, with an excellent frize great coat.

IIId—A tented TABLE d'HOTE—on the field—the collation cold.——Dinner Tickets including malt, 2s 8½d. furnished by Makinnon, of the Marine Pavilion, and Hawley, of Dunleary.

IVth—The brazen trumpet again summons to the field of Mars—after an interval of an hour and half.

Vth—On an elevated Stage

CUDGEL PLAYING,

In love and amity:

Each and every stout Combatant must shake hands and kiss before they are suffered to play—Proper Judges on the boards, to preserve good temper and fair play.

To the best Player a silver lace Hat: Dunleary, Dalkey, and Bullock Boys, and their adjacent allies on the contiguous coasts—against—ALL Ireland.

VIth—A learned Pig—a Pig of knowledge—

A DUNLEARY PIG,

To be coursed over the ground, only by the boys who sailed, kicked the ball, or cudgelled,—the Pig's tail nicely soaped and shaved—the boy who swings the pig by the tail fairly round his head, without dropping the sage astronomer, carries home his worship—not the—SHAM—for JUDY to put—under the pot.

VIIth—To conclude with Harpers and Pipers, for the lads and lasses on the green

VIIIth—A Ball and Supper at the Marine Pavilion—Tickets at 7s 6d.

IXth—No spirits of any kind will be suffered to be sold on the ground—any that dare vend liquid poison, or will be found vilely and shamefully intoxicated, the Dunleary boys have unanimously determined shall be—SOUSED.

Xth—Home-brewed ale and stout porter only, admitted on the ground:—The publicans to have proper quarts, and clean cloths, and excellent cold rounds of beef, surloins, hams, and pullets.

MAGEE, of the ARMS of IRELAND,

Late of Fiat Dungeon, Cell No. 4, in the New Bastile, opposite the Courts of Irish Justice,

STEWARD of the IRISH FESTIVAL;

Or, LAU BRAUGH PLEASHURA—at DUNLEARY,

IN HONOUR OF GEORGE, PRINCE OF WALES,

ON LAMMAS DAY.

SECOND PROGRAMME.

To the PUBLIC,

AS it would be ungrateful, and that in the highest degree, to terminate LAU BRAUGH PLEASHURA, in the absence of my respected friend Viscount Clonmell, who is not less distinguished for the abilities of his head, than the goodness of his heart—and who by the uniform tenor of a life spent in the commission of every act that can dignify man or exalt humanity, who in every station, whether as a Senator, and Attorney Ge eral, asserting

MIGHT CONSTITUTES RIGHT,

Or as a Judge—a Premier Judge—discharging with fidelity that high and important trust and dispensing to all and every the subjects of this land—JUSTICE—STRICT—IMPARTIAL—UNBIASSED — JUSTICE—while in a supreme degree reverencing the Laws—reverencing the antient and constitutional Right of Freeman—TRYAL by JURY—and preserving to all and every —personal Liberty—till that Liberty was perfected by Jurors duly impannelled agreeably to the known and accustomed usage of the realm—never oppressing the Subjects, once FREE, of the King of ancient, imperial, and independent Ireland—by trenching on the BILL of RIGHTS—by compelling onerous and excessive Bail when that subject is dungeoned in a SCOT'S BASTILE—on the prayer of a PROSTITUTE—a PLAYER—or the Proprietor of the Marquis of Buckingham's Print, and the most infernal Gambling-house that ever disgraced Magistracy, or infested any City on Earth.

I say it would be ungrateful—ungenerous, indecent, to close an Irish festivity in the absence of that buttress of sound constitutional laws—that pillar of the State—that dignified and distinguished ornament

OF THE PEERS AND PEERAGE OF IRELAND,

JOHN SCOTT, VISCOUNT CLONMELL.

Therefore, as the Premier of the Court of King's Bench is expected a his seat at MARINO, on return from the North West Circuit in the course of the ensuing week—I take this, the first opportunity, after return from the North East Circuit of Ulster, to inform the public,

That the remainder of the Sports in honour of the Prince of Wales's birthday, will be celebrated and terminated I trust happily on

FIAT-HILL, DUNLEARY,

On FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 4.

The IRISH FESTIVITY;

OR,

LAU BRAUGH PLEASHURA,

To commence precisely at THREE o'clock.

The sports are FOOT BALL—the prize a comfortable GREAT COAT, of—TRUE BLUE.

CUDGEL PLAYING—in love and amity—on an exalted stage—the prize—a BEAVER HAT, richly laced with gold.

A BLACK PIG - a DUNLEARY PIG—a PIG of KNOWLEDGE—an ASTRONOMER—no HAM—to be coursed only by the Lads who kicked the Fiat Ball o'er the ground, or cudgeled with good humour and dexterity—the Pig's tail nicely scaped, and delicately shaved.

The Lads must appear in clean white shirts—none others will be permitted, on any pretext whatever, to touch the SHAM'S TAIL.

No Carriages or Horses will be suffered on the ground—proper standing will be allotted for them—no liquid poison must be vended—publicans who chuse to accommodate their friends and customers with sound Malt—pure Wines—and excellent Hams—Rounds of Beef—Shoulders of Mutton, and Pullets—shall have due notice where and how long their Tents are to stand.

I am the Public's obliged,

J. MAGEE,

Steward of the

IRISH FESTIVITY: Or,

LAU BRAUGH PLEASHURA,

On FIAT-HILL, Dunleary,

In honour of the PRINCE of WALES's Birth.

ARMS of IRELAND,
Tuesday,

☞ As my respected, esteemed, and most invaluable friend, JOHN SCOTT, Viscount Clonmell, Premier of the King's Bench, is not expected at his seat at Marino before Saturday, September 5, I have to indulge the earnest requests and importunate entreaties of his numerous and illustrious friends—been prevailed upon to postpone the

LAU BRAUGH PLEASHURA,

To MONDAY, September 7,

Merely that his Lordship may have the heartfelt satisfaction of enjoying an

IRISH FESTIVITY,

in honour of the PRINCE OF WALES and that celebrated in presence of 30,000 Irish subjects, loyal to their KING—the KING OF IRELAND—and not less affectionately attached and highly approving the manly conduct of GEORGE, PRINCE of WALES, the immediate heir to the crown of this—an imperial kingdom.

In addition to the Sports will be given a ROWING MATCH, from the Admiral's Barge, stationed off the pier of Dunleary, to a Flag Boat, moored off Allen Power's, at Booterstown.

Each Boat at option to row four, but not suffered to feather more than six oars—a Cockswain to each Boat.

Every brave sailor must man his oars, apparelled in a white shirt, round black hat, or black velvet cap, with a band and cockade of blue and buff ribbon.—The cockades and band will be supplied gratis, by the Admiral.

Every boat to carry the flag of Ireland—The boats row round the Flag Boat at Booterstown, and on return dash round the Admiral's Barge, off Dunleary Pier Head.

The Boats start precisely at 11 o'clock, by signal from the Admiral.
1st gun, FORM LINE abreast the Admiral's Barge.
2nd gun, three minutes after—CLEAR.
3rd gun, three minutes after—START.
All disputes to be determined by the Admiral.

PRIZES.

To the FIRST BOAT—a Complete Suit of Colours—of ancient—imperial and independent Ireland—the Harp and Crown—and with permission, the addition of the—PRINCE'S PLUME.

And One Guinea to bumper LONG LIFE TO GEORGE, PRINCE OF WALES.

To the SECOND BOAT—an Ensign, with the Harp, Crown, and if agreeable, the Plume—and Half a Guinea to toast health—festivity—and long life to GEORGE—Prince of—GOOD FELLOWS.

All Boats must enter with Mr. ROGERS, at the Packet Hotel, Rogerson's-quay, on Saturday, September 5th.

It is hoped, that those of the lovely Daughters of Hibernia who grace the field with their presence—it is intreated—that the Men of Ireland, who take their station on the ground, will have the goodness to honour the

IRISH FESTIVITY,

OR,

LAU BRAUGH PLEASHURA,

In Honour of the PRINCE of WALES,

By appearing with Cockades

Of BLUE AND BUFF RIBBON.

MAGEE, of the Arms of Ireland, Steward.

The locality of Fiat Hill is described by Magee in one of his invitations to the Lau Brau Pleashura festivities, next door to his esteemed friend, Lord Clonmell.

"Fiat Hill is the ground lately held by Lady Osborne, and stretches from Lord Earlsfort's demense, along the Black Rock Road, near Dunleary."

Poor Magee's insane productions were followed by new legal proceedings against him.

Copy of *JOHN MAGEE'S* Warrant of Committal To the New Prison.

County of the City of Dublin. } *BY the Hon Sir* Sam. Bradstreet, *Bart, third Judge of his Majesty's Court of King's Bench in Ireland.*

WHEREAS I have received information upon Oath that the News Paper, entitled the Dublin Evening Post, IS printed and published by John Magee, of the City of Dublin, and that there appeared in the said News Paper, printed and published on the 27th of August last, a libellous and seditious publication, contemptuously alluding to the Rt. Hon. John, Lord Viscount Clonmell, Chief Justice of his Majesty's Court of King's Bench, and asserting that Thirty Thousand people are to be assembled:—and tending to disturb the Peace of His Majesty's Subjects.

These are therefore, in his Majesty's name, strictly to charge and command you, the body of the said John Magee, in your custody to detain and keep, until he shall find good and sufficient security to be of the peace and good behaviour to all his Majesty's subjects, and particularly to the said John, Lord Viscount Clonmell, for the space of five years, and for so doing this shall be your warrant.—Given under my hand and seal, this 2nd day of Sept. 1789-nine.

S. BRADSTREET.

To the Sheriffs of the Co. of the City of Dublin. }

[A True Copy.]

W. DELAMERE.

In the "Evening Post," September 1, 1789, Mr. Francis Higgins was charged with having received a large sum of money from the Concordatum Fund, which had been appropriated to the support of B——'s Measures. (The Marquis Buckingham was then Viceroy.) The sum named by Magee was £1,300. To this Higgins declared

the statement was false, of his having received £1,300. Magee discovered that there was a typographical error in the sum stated by him—and that it should have been £1,030 instead of £1,300. Whereupon Magee charges Higgins with "*Attempting to evade the charge of secret service money* by riding off mounted upon a typographical error."

Higgins endeavoured to throw a little dust in the eyes of the readers of the "Freeman's Journal" by bringing a charge of corruption against Magee's paper, of having received douceurs from Government for its services; to which honest John Magee answers—"True, the amount of bills for their public advertisements."

Magee thus describes his situation in the "Evening Post" of October 1st, 1789:—

"Deserted by his pretended friends, and the few of his fellow-citizens whose honest discernment rejects the foul assertions of his united foes intimidated even from visiting him in the dread of imprisonment; and to complete the whole, his very family connections revolted against him, and joined in the operations of his enemies for his destruction, branding him with a charge of lunacy, and essaying to deprive him of his property, his liberty, and social intercourse with mankind!!!"

"At half an hour past seven o'clock Last Night he was served with the copy of a petition and notice of a tryal on this head, which is fixed by order of the Chancellor, to take place in the House of Peers To-Morrow!!!"

A very able letter under the signature of Emilius ap-

pears in the "Evening Post" of the same date, from which the following paragraph is taken: —

"And shall a man who turned this noblest of all privileges to the noblest of all purposes, that of detecting and publicly exposing to view the sanctified hypocrisy, the well-varnished villain, and a few despicable wretches, shall be, I say, after an elongated series of persecution, be accused of insanity, and remain buried within the loathsome walls of a common felon's prison, fit only for the reception of his persecutors? It is true, that in this desperate age, plain dealing is considered as folly, and encountering a powerful rascal, is counted the summit of madness.

"If this sentiment hold true, *poor Magee was mad indeed!*

"There is a certain pride, a certain haughtiness inherent in the mind of man, which renders not only tyranny, but also too decided a pre-eminence in his fellow-creatures, odious, and abhorrent in his nature. This pride, when pushed too far, becomes envy, but when properly tempered, is one of the most firm supports of public freedom."

In the "Evening Post" of the 3rd October, 1789, we find the following account of proceedings in the Chamber of the House of Peers, before Lord Chancellor Clare, on a petition to the Chancellor, praying him to grant a commission of lunacy to inquire into the sanity of John Magee, grounded on three affidavits, and the report of three physicians. The deep interest of the public in this in-

quiry was evinced by the crowd of persons who thronged the court.

The Chancellor, on taking his seat, stated that he had received a petition the night before from Mr. Magee, praying that he might be present at the inquiry that so seriously affected his property and his liberty, and he (the Chancellor) had therefore made an order that he should attend; and he now inquired of the Sheriffs if Mr. Magee had been brought up. Being answered in the affirmative, Mr. Magee was introduced, attended by his own physician.

Mr. Serjeant Duquery opened the proceedings for the Petitioners. The allegations of insanity on which the application was founded were principally, that Mr. Magee had all his life until lately been a man of the greatest industry and sobriety, and had accumulated by his honest industry a large property; but latterly, contrary to the advice of his friends, had published imprudent paragraphs in his newspapers, had taken houses, set up a coach, kept servants in splendid liveries, gave costly entertainments in town and country, had been seen at Dunleary coming out of a boat dressed in a jacket and trowsers with a round hat and feathers, that he rode with violence, established a boat race, a foot-ball match, and appeared in a different dress after dinner from that which he wore in the forenoon; and that all these acts, tending to the ruin of his children, were evidently caused by insanity, and he was therefore incapable of managing his affairs. On these grounds Mr. Duquery prayed that a commission of lunacy might issue.

The Chancellor asked if the physicians who signed the report in support of the petition thought proper to make any affidavit, and if they had done so. He was informed they had not.

Mr. Duquery suggested that Mr. Magee might undergo an examination.

The Chancellor then explained to Mr. Magee the nature of the inquiry and its results if he were found insane, and asked him if he had employed any lawyers.

Mr. Magee answered he had not; he had no means to fee them.

The Chancellor asked if he had any attorney.

Magee said he had not; he had sent for one—Mr. Henry—who came to him and found him sick in bed, and explained his case to him. The gentleman promised to call the next day, and he (Magee) considered him from that time as his law agent, and the first intimation he had of Mr. Henry afterwards was that he was preparing briefs against him for the petitioners. He (Magee) was prepared, if allowed by his Lordship, to call witnesses of his sanity. His physician, who was present, would give evidence on that point; he had made an affidavit on that subject, which he (Magee) had sent to his Lordship with his petition.

The Chancellor asked if it had been filed in the court.

Mr. Magee replied he believed it had not been filed; he was not conversant in such matters.

The Chancellor said if it had not been filed it could not be read.

Mr. Magee observed to his Lordship, though the order for hearing this matter was made so long back as the 23rd September last, he was not served with a notice of it until late the night before last, nor with copies of the affidavit until late last night; his Lordship might therefore judge how ill prepared for his defence he could come into court.

Serjeant Duquery then said that if Mr. Magee wished for further time to prepare himself he had not the least objection it should be granted.

The Chancellor replied that there was no occasion; there was not a shadow of ground for his issuing a commission; supposing all the charges true, they only amounted to acts of extravagance and indiscretion; but that was no ground for a commission of lunacy. If he was to grant one against every man who was to do an extravagant, an unwise, or even a bad thing, he was afraid he would have a great many wards of the court. As to Mr. Magee's children, if the father impaired his property they must, to be sure, suffer: he was sorry for them, but his children must be like the children of every other man—they must depend upon the affection and the prudence of their father. He had observed Mr. Magee during the whole time he had been in court, and he saw nothing insane in him. He must therefore refuse the application.

In this decision, indeed, we have a striking proof of Lord Chancellor Clare's indisposition in his judicial capacity to be made instrumental to acts of oppression and in-

jury to individuals. Magee's pertinacity, no doubt, in unmasking the sham squire's character, and the infamous nature of his mercenary journal, and the ruinous results of the several prosecutions it entailed, may have caused his friends to consider there was no other means of extricating him from the legal vengeance of Mr. Francis Higgins, and his friend Lord Clonmell, than by their recent proceedings. The parties, however, who would really have benefitted by their success were the unrelenting enemies of Magee. All his former attacks on them would have been imputed to insanity, and all danger of a repetition of them would have been thus obviated.

But Lord Chancellor Clare had no sympathies with either of them. There was a dash of generosity in his fitful nature that must have revolted at the unworthy means taken by Lord Clonmell to crush his antagonist, and Lord Clare's well-known hostility to the chicanery of scheming attornies must have made Mr. Francis Higgins, in his eyes, as despicable as any cheat or pettifogger, on whom he perpetually warred, could be.

There was something moreover in the indomitable spirit and courage of the eccentric printer, in unison with his own daring and inflexible character, that he could not fail to appreciate. But whatever feelings may have influenced him in his decision in this case, in direct opposition to the views and wishes of the government of that day, his conduct contrasts very favourably for his reputation with the course pursued by the Chief Justice

of the King's Bench, on every occasion on which he had the power to hurt an individual who was obnoxious to a friend of his, infamous in all his relations, private and public, in society, in his profession, in his politics, and in the press.

In the "Evening Post" of the 27th October, 1789, we find the following:—

"The old infamous gambling house of Crane Lane, which, only a few days since, obtained a wine license from the Commissioners of the Revenue, and a coffee-house licence from the Commissioners of Police, the better to mask the trade carried on upstairs, has already left off trade in the new concerns as interfering too much with the old one.

"Higgins, so many years the notorious proprietor of this pest house, some time since found persons to swear he had no concern in the emoluments arising therefrom. It is, therefore, rather obstinate in the public to hold any opinion in contradiction to whatever Mr. Higgins chuses to swear, or causes to be sworn. Mrs. Molloy, matron of the seminary, living in his Stephen's Green mansion, has a marker of the house in his patronage, and his receiving a certain adequate rent for the house and business in Crane Lane, as a farm, is quite a different matter from partaking of the emolument."*

* Among the persons to whom reference not honourable is made by Magee and his correspondents, we find a Mrs. Molloy, of unenviable notoriety in the city of Dublin; and in Higgins' will we find a bequest of £400 to Mrs. Molloy. Reference is also made by Magee to a Miss André, a ballet girl, who is described as "little André the figure dancer," and Miss André is likewise made mention of in that document.

In the "Evening Post" of the 31st October, 1789, we find the following:—

"It were an insult to the candour and discernment of the citizens of Dublin in particular to imagine that the infamous scurrilities of Mr. Higgins' two papers—his 'Freeman's Journal' and 'Morning Post,' against the character of John Magee, were capable of exciting any other passion than contempt for the authors, and indignation against the elevated abettors of so villainous a system. But when these citizens recollect Francis Higgins, and his wretched hirelings, Brennan, Houlson, and Cooney, are the promulgators of these slanders, even contempt and indignation are ashamed of their objects.

"In the arguments preparatory to Mr. Magee's liberation from his cruel and oppressive imprisonment, on Thursday last, before Chief Baron Yelverton, the King's Attorney General avowed, in open court, that Magee's persecutions were entirely a Government Business !!! And a business it was, truly befitting a Government eminent for so many honourable and illustrious achievements.

"The support and protection of Francis Higgins, and his degraded newspaper, in opposition to the patriotism of the land, and the honour and integrity of Parliament for the last nine years, was a Government business.

"The interdiction against a respectable servant of the Revenue, to prosecute the said Higgins for a daring libel, and the refusal of a great law officer in the last

winter to move, though fee'd in the cause, was a Government business.

"The avowed protection of the castle to the said Higgins, in a pending prosecution for a daring libel against Mr. Grattan, is a Government business.

"Perhaps the intimacy subsisting between the judge and the vile journalist, and the patronage held out by a virtuous Chief Judge, and his plump, puny colleague to the worthy Squire Higgins, is also a Government business.

"And not improbably we shall be told some months hence, that the exculpation of Mr. Higgins, and the printer of the 'Morning Post,' from their defamations of Mr. Magee, and the acquittal of Brennan, under the auspices of a mild judge and a packed jury, is a Government business."

From the "Dublin Evening Post," of the 5th of November, 1798, we take the following paragraphs:—

"Magee further presumes to request that Mr. Peter Cooney, sole proprietor of the 'Morning Post,' will have the condescending politeness to tender his humble and grateful respects to that sage and sapient magistrate, Francis Higgins, Esq., Justice of Peace for the county of Dublin, proprietor of the 'Freeman's Journal,' and one of the gentlemen attorneys, &c., &c.

"Magee begs Mr. Peter Cooney will understand he means his (Cooney's) protector and friend, the noted and notorious Frank Higgins, Esq., who was tried and found guilty, some years since, of a criminal offence, by

an independent jury that had the audacity to think for themselves, and too much respect for the constitution and law of the land to submit to be bullied and sent from the box three times by any presiding judge. — Higgins, Esq , on the clearest and fullest evidence, neither equivocal nor evasive, was found guilty of attempting the life of the late Mr. Peck, of Cornmarket. Higgins the aforesaid stood in the dock in fetters—iron fetters—moreover, during the whole of the said trial, and in the aforesaid fetters was publicly led by the common hangman through the streets of Dublin, from Newgate to the King's Bench. Higgins there was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment in Newgate, and while in that seminary, confined in the cells, had no other subsistence than Newgate bread and water, save what he extorted by his piteous tale and piteous countenance exhibited through the grated bars of a Newgate air-hole, and by daily, and that regularly, for the said twelve months, astonishing the passing crowd with the weather-beaten crown of a Glib-market hat. *Date obolum Belisario.*

"He sends his compliments also to George Joseph Browne, Esq., late a shoeless, shirtless, strolling player, through the wilds of Connemara and dreary mountains of Kerry, and rocky plains of the county of Galway, now a Barrister and a constitutional lawyer on the Freeman and Attorney-General in ordinary to his Royal Highness the — Sham — the Sham in Lavender—to the said George Joseph Browne, Esq., who three times has sworn examinations against

one of the men of Ireland, and which examinations by a Dublin Grand Jury have been three times ignored."

In the "Evening Post" of November 5th, 1789, we find the following:

"*Ireland to Wit.*" "Peter Cooney, of Anglesea Street, in the City of Dublin, printer, came before me this day and made oath on the Holy Evangelists, that he hath read several paragraphs in the newspaper called the 'Dublin Evening Post,' printed by John Magee, stating that Francis Higgins, of Stephen's Green, Esq., and others had a property in the 'Morning Post,' and that it was subject to his or their influence and control, saith that such charges are false, unfounded, and malicious, and framed for the purpose of deceiving the public, and injuring deponent in his business; deponent further saith that he never, by himself, or by any other person whatever, received any sum of money, fee, reward, or consideration, or other species of value, or promise of such, from the said F. Higgins, Esq., nor did he ever hold intercourse with him relative to such, or any kind of negotiation with Mr. Higgins upon the subject of, or concerning the said John Magee, nor was ever any application for any such purpose made to deponent.

"This deponent further saith, that the 'Morning Post' is his sole property, and that it is not under the influence or control of any person or persons save deponent, and that he verily believes said John Magee was

maliciously instigated to give out such false imputations because he had refused to join him in abusing the judges of the land by an unwarrantable, a slanderous, and an atrocious publication, for which the said Magee offered payment; this deponent further saith, that in this affidavit there is neither evasion, equivocation, nor mental reservation, and that it is made to state the truth of the fact against the malicious misrepresentation of the said John Magee.

"Sworn before me this 2nd day of Novemher, 1789.

"PETER COONEY. "WILLIAM HENN."

In the "Dublin Evening Post," November 5th, 1789, we find the following:

"This day Mr. Magee, for the satisfaction of his bail on the several fiats pending against him, at the suit of Squire Higgins, Squire Daly, and the amiable Miss Tracy, of Kilmacud, since last term, was again rendered into the custody of the sheriffs, preparatory to his giving bail at bar."

In the "Dublin Evening Post" of November 12th, 1789, we find the following:

"This day Mr. Magee was brought up by order of the Court of King's Bench from the lock-up-house where he had been confined since Tuesday last, upon fiats granted by Lord Clonmell, at the suit of Francis Higgins, Esq., Daly, the player, Miss Tracy, and Mr. Brennan, to the amount of £7,800. Mr. Magee's object was to

move for a new trial in the matter of the alleged libel against Higgins. The Court refused the motion for a new trial, but appointed to hear council on Tuesday next in arrest of judgment.

"The Chief Justice informed the Sheriffs that Magee was now a convict; he, therefore, was conducted by the Sheriffs to Newgate, and that immediately."

Poor Magee had now to confront a new and more terrible danger than any he had hitherto encountered. In the "Evening Post" of September 29th, 1789, we find the following:

"Friday is appointed for the agitation of a trial in the House of Lords, which cannot fail to excite the astonishment of every rational citizen in Dublin.

"It is the convenient scheme of a junto of pretended friends to deprive J. Magee, not only of his property, but of his reason and liberty into the bargain, in a manner, no doubt, strictly conformable to law and wisdom, however opposite to honesty and truth. . . .

"From the glaring combination of fell villany, of ill-gotten wealth, and arbitrary power, leagued against him on the one hand, and the base avarice of certain designing persons on the other, it is only astonishing that his life has hitherto escaped. . . .

"He is aware that every man who hunts dangerous vermin runs the risk of being stung or bitten, and in the attempt to disperse a nest of scorpions, he was prepared to expect the collected force of their venom."

November 27th, 1789, John Magee was again brought up to the Court of King's Bench, on a motion for arrest of judgment, on the issue of an information pending against him. The case was postponed to the day following and from the day following to the next term. In the meantime Mr. Magee was admitted to bail on his own recognisance.

Mr. Magee was no sooner discharged, and had got into the High Street, than *he was again taken into custody by the Sheriffs on different fiats issued by Lord Clonmell amounting to* £7,800.

Francis Higgins and his friend Lord Clonmell verily evinced their power on the last occasion with a vengeance. On December 2nd, 1789, one of Mr. Higgins's patrons, Sir Samuel Bradstreet, Bart., third Justice of the Court of King's Bench, issued his warrant for the committal to Newgate of John Magee. The warrant directed to the Sheriffs was to the following effect:—

"Whereas he, Sir S. Bradstreet, had received information on oath that the 'Dublin Evening Post' was published by John Magee, and that on the 27th of August preceding a libellous and seditious publication appeared in that paper, contemptuously alluding to the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Lord Viscount Clonmell, asserting that 30,000 persons were to be assembled on a certain occasion, and that such publication tended to disturb the King's peace.

"These were, therefore, in his Majesty's name to command the Sheriffs and Deputy-Keepers of Newgate to

keep in custody the said John Magee until he shall find good and sufficient security to keep the peace to all his Majesty's subjects, and particularly to Lord Viscount Clonmell, for the space of five years.

(Signed) "S. BRADSTREET."

And on the same day the warrant was issued Magee was committed to Newgate.

Magee observes on this warrant—"The citizens of Dublin had lived to see Bastile laws find a sanctuary in this country when banished from their own. . . .

"A Dublin citizen announces a course of manly sports in his own grounds in honour of his Prince (in solemnisation of his birth-day); and this is construed into treason, sedition, libel, and outrage, and the citizen is thrown into a Bastile, among felons and murderers, by a cadi of the law."

The following notices and extracts are from "The Trial of John Magee, for printing and publishing a slanderous and defamatory libel against Richard Daly, Esq., before the R. H. Lord Clonmell, on June 28th, 1790." (Printed by Byrne, Grafton Street.)

The plaintiff in this case was patentee and manager of the Theatre Royal, Crow Street. The defendant was proprietor and printer of the "Dublin Evening Post" and "Weekly Packet."

The counsel for the plaintiff were—Mr. Serjeant Duquery, P. Duigenan, LL.D., Mich. Smith, LL.D.,

Beresford Burton, Esq., the Hon. Sam. Butler, John Egan, Esq., Messrs. Brown, Fleming, Ball, Green, and John Philpot Curran. Counsel for the defendant were —Arthur Brown, Esq., Charles O'Neal, Esq., George Ponsonby, Esq., Chamberlain Walker, Esq., and Richard Guinness, Esq.

Serjeant Duquery, in opening the case for plaintiff, stated that Mr. Daly had expended upwards of £12,000 in re-building and embellishing the Crow Street Theatre, and that his property had been brought almost to ruin, and his character damaged most seriously by the defendant, who constantly held him forth to public odium, as a monster, a sharper, a gambler, and a vagabond; and even addressing to plaintiff's wife a letter, in his own handwriting, embodying the slanders he published in his paper against her husband.

The first libel produced in evidence against plaintiff was published in the "Dublin Evening Post," of May, 28th, 1789—a poem, severely reflecting on the plaintiff. From the time the libels commenced in the "Post" the receipts of the theatre, it was proved, had fallen off greatly, and riots and disturbances became of frequent occurrence in the theatre in 1789. The libels were chiefly published in June, July, August, September, and November of that year.

A witness, Mr. John Kennedy, proved that the libels in the "Post" produced bad effects in the theatre. The people used to cry out from the gallery, "A clap for Magee, the Man of Ireland!" "A groan for the

Sham Squire!" "A groan for the Dasher!" "Out with the lights," &c. The person meant by "The Sham Squire" was Mr. Francis Higgins; "The Dasher," Mr. Daly.

Mr. William Dawson, on cross-examination, said the mob in the gallery called out frequently a groan for the "Sham Squire," and he considered they meant Mr. Francis Higgins, who he heard was the proprietor of the "Freeman's Journal." Had heard there were quarrels in print between Mr. Higgins and Mr. Magee. Witness declined to answer the question: did he not know there was a very particular intimacy between Mr. Daly and Mr. Higgins?

Mr. W. Gilbert, father-in-law to Mr. Magee, sworn, said that the mind of Mr. Magee was in an unsettled state at the time of the publication of this libel.

Mr. Magee had been arrested at the suit of Messrs. Higgins and Daly in June, 1789, and was imprisoned till the November following, bail being refused to be taken for his appearance. He was again arrested at the suit of Higgins and Daly in December, and was again incarcerated, and only got notice of trial in February. These vexatious proceedings and harsh measures had eventually quite unsettled his mind, and his business was greatly injured.

On cross-examination, it was admitted it was for contempt of court that he, Magee, was then in gaol, and had still to abide there.

The verdict of the jury was for the plaintiff, with £200 damages, and sixpence costs.

Lord Clonmell's legal vengeance kept pace with his friend Higgins's vindictiveness. We read in the "Post" of February 9th, 1790, a most summary account of another sentence of imprisonment and fine pronounced on John Magee, without one word, be it observed, of note or comment in the way of complaint against Lord Chief Justice Clonmell, or the other justice of the peace, Mr. Francis Higgins:

"Yesterday Mr. Magee, in consequence of some animadversions on the proceedings of the Court of King's Bench, received sentence to be confined six months, and to pay a fine of £50."

In the "Evening Post" of June 29th, 1790, there is an account of the trial in the Court of King's Bench, the particulars of which I have given from the separate published report. In the account of the trial in the "Evening Post," there is not a single word of comment on the proceedings. But at the end of that account, the unfortunate Magee informs his readers: "There are still pending against him three other fiats, one at the suit of Francis Higgins for £2,000, one at the suit of Miss Tracy for £1,000, and one at the suit of Mr. Brennan, of Kilmacud, for £800."

In the "Evening Post" of July 24th, 1790, John Magee addresses his subscribers and readers from Newgate, informing them that after twelve months' imprisonment and persecution of various kinds, on the 27th of the present month he hoped to regain his liberty, on which occasion he would avail himself of the kind offers of his numerous respectable and independent friends,

who had signified their intention of accompanying him in procession from Newgate to the Royal Exchange—a mark of their approval of his struggles with arbitrary power, and of sympathy with his sufferings, too flattering to be refused.

In the next publication, however, of his paper, Magee informs his friends that he must decline the honour of the intended procession on his liberation from confinement, as he had reason to fear his enemies would take advantage of any concourse of people accompanying him on the occasion above referred to, to cause a breach of the peace.

With the various prosecutions hanging over his head at the close of the year 1789, at the suits of Francis Higgins, Miss Frances Tracy, Richard Daly, and C. Brennan, Magee's pugnacity began to be brought under some control.

Among the various pamphlets which the controversy on the subject of fiats and bail gave rise to in 1789 and 1790, there was one without the author's name, entitled, "An Address to the Whig Club, on the Judicial Discretion of Judges on Fiats and Bail" (Dublin, 1790) deserving of notice.

On the title page of the copy of this pamphlet in my possession, the following words appear on that page in MS.:—"Written by Leonard McNally, Middle Temple." These words, I am in a position to say positively, are in the handwriting of Counsellor Leonard McNally. This pamphlet of his is in keeping with his character. He

affects to be patriotic, national, anti-ministerial, but the whole tone of his production is laboured, strained, timid, hesitating—there is evidence in it of the limping of a lame mind. There is nothing outspoken, manly, ingenuous, or vigorous in its tone, style, or matter.

The conduct of the Lord Chief Justice Clonmell in the matter of John Magee, and the question of the legality of issuing fiats in the Court of King's Bench, in libel cases, were brought before the Irish House of Commons, the 3rd of March, 1790, by the Right Hon. George Ponsonby. A few extracts from his speech will suffice for my readers:—

"In pursuance of any engagement to the House, I am now going to execute a task to me highly painful. I am about to desire this committee to concur with me in a resolution to censure a practice which has lately prevailed in this country—of issuing writs, marked by the order of a judge in his chamber, to hold defendants to bail for large sums of money, for their appearance in actions of slander, in cases where no specific damage has been sworn to in the affidavits upon which such writs have been ordered to issue . . .

"But it is said (as to the second ground) 'that the practice of the courts authorised the conduct of the Judge, and that in this kingdom fiats have been universally granted for the purpose of holding defendants to bail in actions of slander.' Sir, I deny the truth of the assertion; but even admitting it to be true, it proves nothing in the present case. There are but two species

of law known in this country, the common and the statute law, and I say the conduct of the Judge can be justified by neither. But the Judge would perhaps say, 'the practice of the Court is the law of the Court.' I answer that it may, but it is not the law of the land; no practice can prevail which militates against the fundamental principles of reason, of law, and liberty. Good God, sir! what sort of practice is that which allows a man to throw another into gaol at his pleasure, for any sum which he may think fit to swear to! How different is such a practice from the provisions of the law! The law says, no man shall be a judge in his own cause, no man shall be a juror in his own cause; no man shall be a witness in his own cause; but this practice says that a man may estimate his own worth and compensate his own injuries; that he may walk into a jury-box and assess his own damages; that he may ascend the seat of judgment and preside at his own trial; or in other words, that any man in this community is liable to be held to bail for any sum which a spiteful, a malicious, or a vindictive adversary may swear himself entitled to. If this be, indeed, the practice of the courts of justice, we had better be without them.

"I will now, sir, state those very extraordinary affidavits which the committee have heard read by the clerk at the table. I shall begin with Mr. Daly's: He swears that he is manager and proprietor of the Theatre Royal in this city, and that John Magee is the printer

and proprietor of certain newspapers; he then sets forth those verses we have been laughing at, and says that he is the person designed by the names of 'Young Roscius' and 'Ricardo,' and in order to entitle himself to the fiat which he sought from the Judge, he swears that he hath 'already experienced,' what! why truly, 'the *injurious tendency of those publications*;' the injurious tendency forsooth! This is a specific injury! This is actual damage! This is a value for £4,000 bail and six months' imprisonment! But how does he prove even the injurious tendency which he alleges? I will read the proof as it is given in the affidavit: 'As a very eminent performer, who was detained by deponent in Great Britain to act at said Theatre Royal in this city, did, from the false and scandalous publications against deponent, *express a doubt* of deponent's credit and punctuality, and that, therefore, a large and considerable sum must be paid in advance to such performer.' What! you seem surprised now that the learned Chief Justice of the first law in the kingdom ordered on this affidavit a writ to be marked for £4,000, and suffered the defendant to be thrown into gaol, because he could not find bail to that amount. Suffer me, however, to proceed a little further: and the deponent saith, 'If it had not been for the immediate interference of some of deponent's friends, then in the city of London, deponent would have been deprived of the advantage of such performer (a loud laugh). What, now you laugh! Sir, gentlemen may laugh at this affidavit, but its con-

sequences have been serious and alarming; no such event has happened in this country since the Revolution. The affidavit goes on and states that the deponent is convinced he has suffered damages to the amount of £4,000; he is convinced of it without stating one single instance of actual and specific damage, or swearing to one single shilling of real and substantial loss. However, the Chief Justice's conviction kept pace with the deponent's, and he ordered a writ to issue marked for £4,000.

"I will now, sir, state Brennan's affidavits. The slander that has been published of him is, in short, this, 'that he kept a house of reception for women of bad character,' which he denies, and swears 'that he is greatly aggrieved by this slander, as numbers of his friends and acquaintance have called on him to mention how much deponent is exposed and injured thereby, and to know the reason why deponent should be charged with such a scandalous crime, &c.,' and the affidavit concludes in the language of a declaration, whereby he hath been greatly injured, and suffered damage to the amount of £800.' How he has suffered this damage he does not mention—he gives no instances of any. I cannot find that he states anything injurious as to the specific consequence of the slander, unless we shall allow the troublesome visits and impertinent questions of his country friends and acquaintances to come within that description. However, the Chief Justice thought he had made a just estimate of

his damage, and he ordered a writ to issue marked for £800.

"I proceed to the affidavit of Frances Tracy: in it she complains of those publications which we have heard read; the tendency of them is to charge her with being unchaste and too intimately acquainted with a man to whom she is not married; but she says, nay, she swears, she is a modest woman; and like those who have gone before her, she says she is much aggrieved, and that, as she is single and unmarried, she has good reason to believe that her character and reputation are totally ruined, and she rates her loss by the destruction of them at £1,000. She does not, indeed, swear that any man had before an intention of marrying her, and that by this slander the match was broken off, and she lost the marriage; she does not, indeed, swear positively even to the loss of her appreciated reputation, but she swears that she has good reason to apprehend and believe that she has suffered damage to the amount of £1,000. The Chief Justice participates in her apprehensions, and with more, I think, of the gallantry of a knight-errant than of the caution of a judge, he suffered the distressed damsel to have a writ marked for the sum at which she had estimated her character and her injuries.

"The affidavit of Francis Higgins, which was ordered by the House to be laid before it, I cannot state, because it has not been returned: a practice it seems prevailed in the King's Bench of not compelling a plaintiff to file the affidavit on which a marked writ issues,

unless the defendant puts a rule upon him to show cause of bail. However, the fact is, that upon that affidavit a writ issued marked for £2,000. These different sums amount to £7,800; and because the defendant has not been able to find bail for this, so great a sum, he has been thrown into that jail in which he lies at present. But in what predicament did this man stand when these writs were issued against him? He was at that time the subject of a criminal information, exhibited and granted against him at the relation of Francis Higgins, one of the plaintiffs in these very suits. The information had actually gone against him, and in this situation, with his credit shaken and his character blemished, he is held to bail for £7,800."

THE AFFIDAVIT OF JOHN BRENNAN.

"*John Brennan, Gent.,* Plaintiff.
"*John Magee, of the City of Dublin, printer of the newspapers called the 'Dublin Evening Post' and 'Magee's Weekly Packet,' Defendant.*

"The plaintiff, John Brennan, of Kilmacud, in the county of Dublin, maketh oath that he hath formerly resided in Aungier Street, in the city of Dublin, and carried on, in an extensive manner, the business of a grocer, with a fair and honest character, Saith that deponent having acquired in his trade a capital sufficient, as deponent conceived, to enable deponent to retire from business and live privately (having

no children), this deponent, who is far advanced in years, did accordingly take a farm contiguous to the city of Dublin, where deponent's connections lay, known by the name of the town and lands of Kilmacud, in the county of Dublin, where deponent has for some years past and yet does reside. Saith that there was inserted and published in a certain newspaper, entitled the 'Dublin Evening Post,' and dated the 28th day of May last, of which newspaper the said defendant, John Magee, of the city of Dublin, lottery-office keeper, is the proprietor and printer, as this deponent is informed and verily believes, several paragraphs highly reflecting on the character and reputation of Francis Higgins, of Stephen's Green, Esq.

"By which said false, scandalous, malicious, and defamatory printed works aforesaid, this deponent is pointed out by name; and also that he, this deponent, through trouble or distress, admits his house to be converted into a receptacle for —— and for entertaining of women of infamous character; and deponent saith that there is no other person whatsoever of the name of Brennan living at or keeping a house at Kilmacud, aforesaid, but deponent; and this deponent saith he never did keep a house for the entertainment or reception of —— for the said Francis Higgins or for any other person whatsoever whom he knew or believed to be of improper character; nor did he, the said Francis Higgins, keep in, or make any such receptacle of,

deponent's house. Saith that a young of lady fair reputation and good character, of the name of Tracy, did for some time before reside along with her aunt in deponent's house, but this deponent saith that the said Tracy is known to be of fair and irreproachable character and conduct, and was not kept by any person or persons, or under any such repute at deponent's residence, or at any other place whatsoever, to deponent's knowledge, hearsay, or belief; and this deponent saith that, notwithstanding said John Magee must well know that the said hereinbefore recited false, scandalous, malicious, and defamatory printed words aforesaid did most materially prejudice and injure deponent in his credit and character. . . . .

"And which injury was so done against deponent by the said defendant, John Magee, out of wantonness and malice, to ruin defendant's character and credit, whereby and by means of such scandalous, false, malicious, and defamatory printed words aforesaid, of and concerning deponent, he, this deponent, hath been greatly injured, and suffered damage to the amount of £800 sterling.

"Sworn before me this 4th day of June, 1789.

"EARLSFORT.

"Let a writ issue at the plaintiff's suit against the defendant in this cause, marked eight hundred pounds.

"EARLSFORT."

The Affidavit of Richard Daly.

"Richard Daly, Esq., Plaintiff.
"John Magee, printer of the newspapers called the 'Dublin Evening Post,' and 'Magee's Weekly Packet;' John Shea and Charles Campbell, publishers of said 'Dublin Evening Post;' and Thomas Butler, publisher of 'Magee's Weekly Packet,' Defendants.

"Richard Daly, of the city of Dublin, Esq., manager and patentee of the Theatre Royal in the city of Dublin, maketh oath, and saith that John Magee, of the city of Dublin, who, as deponent believes and doubts not to prove, is the printer and proprietor of a certain newspaper called the 'Dublin Evening Post,' of which said newspaper the said defendants, John Shea and Charles Campbell, are publishers, as deponent believes; and saith that said John Magee is also printer and proprietor of another newspaper, printed and published in the city of Dublin, entitled, 'Magee's Weekly Packet,' whereof the said defendant Thomas Butler is the publisher, as deponent doubts not to prove; and saith that the said defendant, John Magee, caused, or permitted to be printed and published in the said 'Dublin Evening Post,' of Thursday, the 28th day of May last, and in the said 'Magee's Weekly Packet,' of Saturday, the 30th day of May last, a false, scandalous, malicious, and defamatory publication, called a 'Fragment.' . . . Saith that deponent, from the nature of deponent's situation, as owner of said several theatres in the cities of Dublin,

Cork, and elsewhere, is obliged to hold a constant intercourse of dealing in the city of London, as well as other different parts of Great Britain, where the said newspapers, called the 'Dublin Evening Post' and 'Magee's Weekly Packet' are circulated, as deponent is informed and believes, as also in several other towns in Ireland; and this deponent further saith, that by means of the said several false, malicious, scandalous, and defamatory publications, holding forth deponent to the public view as a gambler, committing fraud, and using dishonest arts to accumulate gain, as also that this deponent is a person in poor and necessitous circumstances:

"And saith that it is a most wicked and malicious falsehood, that this deponent hath used any dishonest art to accumulate money, as untruly insinuated by such scandalous publications, nor doth this deponent subsist by gambling; nor are the charges contained in such several false, scandalous publications in any manner true, but by means whereof this deponent is materially injured in his good name, fame, credit, and reputation; and saith that this deponent hath a large family of children, particularly four growing-up daughters, who from such recorded false, scandalous, and malicious publications respecting their father, wherein deponent is depicted as a cheat, a gambler, and of infamous character, they, in their future prospects of life, may receive considerable injury, as also deponent's sons, from such false, scandalous, and malicious misrepresentions of, and concerning this deponent, so printed and published by

the defendant, John Magee, as aforesaid; and deponent hath good reason to be convinced he is by such unprovoked, unmerited, false, and scandalous publications as aforesaid, and hath thereby suffered damages therein to the amount of £4,000 sterling and upwards; and saith that he hath heard and believes that the said John Magee is a lottery-broker, and the proprietor of the said several newspapers, and that the said John Magee gives out that he is a man of very considerable property, as well in his money as in the said several newspapers.

"Sworn before me, this twelfth day of June, 1789

"Richard Daly, "Earlsfort.
"Charles Lindsay.

"Let a writ issue at plaintiff's suit against the defendant, marked four thousand pounds.

"Received 20th of June, 1789.

"Earlsfort."

The Affidavit of Frances Tracy.

"Frances Tracy, Spinster, Plaintiff.
"John Magee, of the City of Dublin, printer of the newspaper called the 'Dublin Evening Post' and 'Magee's Weekly Packet,' Defendant.

"The plaintiff, Frances Tracy, of the city of Dublin, spinster, maketh oath, that this deponent's parents died some time ago, leaving deponent a property, and to which deponent added very considerably by deponent's labour and industry, with a fair and honest character in business. Saith that this deponent being much impaired in her health, went with

deponent's aunt, Mrs. Christian Hamilton, in the month of August last, to reside at the house of Mr. John Brennan, of Kilmacud, in the county of Dublin, where this deponent continued until very lately. Saith that there was inserted and published in a certain newspaper called the 'Dublin Evening Post,' and in another newspaper, entitled 'Magee's Weekly Packet,' of which said newspapers, the said defendant, John Magee, of the city of Dublin, lottery-office keeper, is the proprietor and printer, as this deponent is informed and verily believes; and in which said newspapers were published several paragraphs highly reflecting on the character and reputation of Francis Higgins, of Stephen's Green, Esq., as deponent verily believes; and saith that he, the said John Magee, to whom this deponent is an entire stranger, did insert, or cause, or permit to be inserted in the aforesaid newspapers, called 'Magee's Weekly Packet,' and the 'Dublin Evening Post,' several false, scandalous, malicious, and defamatory paragraphs, of and concerning deponent, one of which said paragraphs was printed and published in said newspaper, called the 'Dublin Evening Post,' on the 19th day of May last, and is of the following tenor and effect:

"'The following letter was found yesterday morning in one of the walks of Stephen's Green. It is copied verbatim from the original, which may be seen, and is now in the possession of Miss Andre. It is generally imagined it dropped from the pocket of Miss Tracy, of Kilmacud (meaning this deponent, as deponent verily

believes), who was observed in town the evening before on a visit to his worship the justice, in whose hands are the issues of life and death' . . .

"By which said false, scandalous, malicious, and defamatory printed paragraph, aforesaid, deponent is not only pointed out by name, but also deponent's said residence at said Brennan's, at Kilmacud. And this deponent further saith that the said John Magee, in like furtherance of his malice, and to blacken, injure, expose, and unjustly and falsely charge this deponent with being a prostitute to or kept by said Francis Higgins, or any other person or persons whatsoever, which charge is most false, scandalous, and malicious, he the said defendant, John Magee, did, on the 30th day of May last, in another newspaper, called 'Magee's Weekly Packet,' of which said John Magee is the printer, as deponent doubts not to prove, print and publish, or cause or permit to be reprinted and published, in said newspaper the said before recited false, scandalous, and malicious paragraph of and concerning this deponent . . .

"And as this deponent is single and unmarried, deponent hath good reason to believe that her character and reputation is totally ruined by means of said false and scandalous publications of the defendant, John Magee, in said three several newspapers, as aforesaid; and which false and scandalous productions of and concerning deponent was so done against deponent by the said defendant, John Magee, out of wantonness, wickedness, and malice, to ruin and destroy this deponent's

character and reputation, this deponent never having by her conduct or demeanour afforded any just ground or cause for such false and unjust charge, nor gave any provocation to said Magee to print or publish such scandalous, false, and defamatory paragraphs, aforesaid, whereby and by means thereof this deponent has been injured and suffered damage, as this deponent hath good reason to apprehend and believe to the amount of £1000 sterling; and saith that said defendant, John Magee, being a lottery office broker, and owner of said two newspapers, is reputed to be a person in opulent circumstances.

"Sworn before me this 8th day of June, 1789.

"EARLSFORT.

"FRANCES TRACY.

"CHARLES LINDSAY, attorney for the plaintiff.

"Let a writ issue at the plaintiff's suit against the defendant for one thousand pounds.

"EARLSFORT."

In a letter signed "Philo Lucius," in the "Evening Post," of the 20th October, 1789, we find the following:—

"Now let us see for a moment whom has the atrocious John Magee so wickedly libelled?

"Why, Frank Higgins!!!

"*Risum teneatis amici.* Everybody will allow that the *honest* Frank might be labelled indeed from top to toe, with hints of his transactions, even in *short hand*, without getting through one fourth of them; but a *libel* upon a man whose whole life is a libel against the law and gospel is rather a curiosity in law, which may serve as a companion to the trials of John Magee—so perfectly unique in their kind.

"The next characters so cruelly injured are Richard Daly, the Player; and a Miss Tracy, of Kilmacud. Mr. Daly's private virtues, no doubt, may be very numerous, but he takes christian care to conceal them. As to his public ones I believe they might be returned, in the manner of innumerable writs against Mr. Higgins' favourites—*non est inventus.*

"With the transcendant virtues of the blooming Miss Tracy, I have not the felicity of acquaintance; but I cannot possibly entertain a doubt of their sacred purity, when I am told she is the ward of the pious Frank Higgins—I beg pardon, I had nearly forgotten Esquire.

"Now, why does not the said Squire Higgins, instead of a string of assertions against John Magee, too notoriously fallacious to attain a scruple of belief, and of scurrilities too vile and rancorous to mount an inch above contempt--why does not he, I say, publish a glossary, or a record, or a map of the occult virtues and spotless characters of himself, his friend Daly, and his fair ward Miss Tracy, in order that the world may fairly compare the assertions of Magee with so bold a contrast,

and be convinced from irresistible demonstration of the vileness of that detraction with which he is charged, and for which Squire Higgins, probably warranted by the privileges of the quorum, or the sanction of the bench, has condemned him to periodical flagellation, three times a week, at that Common Gibbet—'His Worship's Journal'—and as if tired of the task, at length transferred him to the morning whipping post, as a kind of literary *aide-de-camp* to the said journal, in desperate cases.

"But as Mr. Higgins either may not choose to answer the question at all, or else may give his response in the impertinent sophistry or blackguard scurrility of his scribes—I will answer it for him in a more clear and civil way."

There is, indeed, more evidence of insanity in this article than in any of the productions which were laid before the Lord Chancellor. With respect to Miss Tracy I am in a position to say the whole of Magee's insinuations and accusations against that lady were founded on suspicions which had no foundation in fact or truth.

When Magee first made those charges against that lady, it was quite evident he was eaten up with passion and violent animosity to Higgins; he allowed his suspicions to assume the shape of facts, and eventually his impressions became fixed delusions.

This conviction is the result of inquiries of a search-

ing nature; of evidence of persons of credibility, who had been acquainted with Miss Tracy; and in the written testimony of one of them, in whose truthfulness I have the most perfect reliance. That evidence leaves not a shadow of doubt on my mind that Miss Tracy was a lady of unblemished character, of excellent qualities and most amiable disposition; that she was held in the same respect and regard by persons of the highest honour, by men of the world, and of respectable stations in society, not only previous to her marriage with Mr. Harvey, but subsequent to it, and up to the time of her decease.

These conclusions, I repeat, are the result of very careful and diligent inquiry made in the course of the last six years, of persons who had been intimately acquainted with Miss Tracy, and with that lady after her marriage—Mrs. Harvey. One of those persons was Mr. Thos. Flanagan, a man on whose veracity I place entire reliance, a memoir of whom I have published, in which I have referred to a statement in writing of his, made a very few days before his death, bearing out all that I have said of Mrs. Harvey and of her excellent qualities. All that I have embodied in the preceding observations I brought under the notice of the only person probably now living who is competent to form a judgment as to the value of them; that gentleman is Mr. Michael Staunton, one of the most respected citizens of Dublin, now Collector General of Taxes, former editor of "The Register," newspaper, and previously editor of

the "Freeman's Journal," during the proprietorship of Mr. Harvey. That gentleman knew Mrs Harvey intimately, and I am happy to say he concurs not only in the preceding observations, but he has made others in addition to them, which are very deserving of notice.

Mr. Staunton said:—

"I knew Mrs. Harvey very intimately. She was a person of great refinement of manners, of a kindly disposition, of strong religious feelings, and was very observant of religious duties.

"I never knew a person more right minded, or of stricter notions of propriety, than she was. Her husband was exceedingly attached and attentive to her. Mr. Harvey was a gentleman of good family in the Co. Wexford. He has been in the army, and mixed much in good society in London, whilst living with his uncle, Colonel Kelly, of Half Moon St., Piccadilly.

"He had a commission in the Middlesex Militia Regiment, and had the air and carriage of a military man. He was courteous in his manners, high minded, and in every sense of the word an honourable man. He, Mr. Staunton, never knew a man less likely to have made an alliance with a person who was not in every way worthy of respect and regard; and he certainly held his wife in the highest regard and respect."

Two years of legal persecution had terminated in the ruin of John Magee's health, mind, and fortune. From the time of his liberation, eulogies of the Whig Club and

accounts of volunteer paradings, and solemnizations of the anniversary of our great deliverer, filled the columns of the "Evening Post."

In the "Evening Post" of the 2nd of November, 1790, we find the following notice:—

"Whig Club.

"The Whig Club meet at Ryan's, Fownes Street, on Thursday next, the 4th of November, to celebrate the anniversary of the birthday of King William III. . . . Dinner on the table at six o'clock.

"Per order of the Right Hon. T. Connolly,
Secretary."

Poor Magee, referring to this notice, eulogises the great Whig principle which pervades the patriotism and the politics of this great association, which the Lord Chancellor had uncourteously termed "An Eating and Drinking Club."

Magee exults in the objects for which the Whig Club was first associated; and every meeting of that body, he declares, must be, to every true Irishman, "matter of exultation." Among their objects, he tells his readers, is that of *Maintaining the Sacred Rights of the People.* That portion of the people which constituted four-fifths of it, namely, the Catholics, did not enter, of course, into consideration when the sacred rights of the people were taken under the wing of that fine old hen—the Whig Club.

The parental interest, moreover, evinced by the great and good King William, of glorious, pious, and immortal memory, in the woollen manufactures of Ireland, rendered it peculiarly incumbent on the gentlemen who had recently fought the battle of Free Trade in Ireland, to celebrate the anniversary of this great deliverer from thraldrom of every kind, and from the evils especially of woollen manufactures, wooden shoes, brass money, and Popery.

One of the latest effective demonstrations of the volunteers, and at their head the Venerable Charlemount, was on the occasion of this anniversary, in College Green, in front of the statue of the deliverer.

We learn from the "Evening Post" that a little confusion was occasioned on that day by the arrival of the troops of the garrison of Dublin at College Green, for the purpose of firing *a feu de joie* before the volunteers made their first discharge. At the request of Lord Charlemount, however, communicated by an *aide-de-camp* to the commanding officer, he very politely kept his men back till the volunteers had completed their fire, and marched triumphantly off the ground.

This was *la commencement du fin* of the volunteer institution. It was worthier of a better fate; and its patriotism would have been more worthily exhibited than in the scene and spectacle that had been selected for its last effective display—fraternising with the bigots of Skinner's Alley, and the retinue of the Lord Mayor, adorned with orange ribbands, at the base of a bad

statue in base metal, of the violator of the Treaty of Limerick, in whose reign laws were passed for the destruction of the woollen trade in Ireland, and the religion of four-fifths of its people.

The newspaper war between John Magee, of the "Dublin Evening Post," and Francis Higgins, of the "Freeman's Journal," that commenced in February, 1789, was of too violent a nature to last long.

The reader will have seen that, with brief intervals, not of truce, but of time for panting, preparing fresh weapons, and collecting new material for renewed hostility, the campaign lasted till the close of 1789. At one time in August and September, there were some indications on the part of the "Post," of being done up; but early in October—

> The war that for a space did fail
> Now trebly thundering swell'd the gale;
> And *Higgins* was the cry.

But though poor Magee still brandished o'er his head the fragment of his pen, and his frenzied eye glared terribly at times on "the infernal journal," as he designated the "Freeman," and its master, and shouted victory! But if victory could be said to be on his side, it was exceedingly expensive; it cost him several prosecutions, imprisonment for upwards of a year, ruinous expenses, ruinous results of anxiety and excitement, a state of mind bordering on insanity.

I have carefully gone through the entire file of the "Evening Post" for 1790, and I do not find a single reference to the Sham Squire, or mention of the name of

Francis Higgins. And yet for several months of that year Magee was a prisoner in Newgate, in consequence of prosecutions instigated, or carried on at the expense of Higgins. His enemy then was beaten into silence, and brought to the verge of ruin in his affairs and in his reason. But Magee, in the meantime, in the ten months of the previous year of 1789, had utterly demolished the reputation of Francis Higgins, unmasked his villany, and left him only ill gotten wealth, and the influence of his wretched paper to sustain the appearance of a position in society that everyone knew to be false.

John Magee's paper, the "Dublin Evening Post," was still carried on by members of his family, from the time of his liberation and to the end of the century.

He died in 1811; and then his eldest son, John, had the sole management of it.

With all his eccentricities, John Magee was an honest, incorruptible, fearless man; faithful to his principles, and in his daring efforts to serve the public deserving of respect. Peace be to his ashes. He undertook a tremendous task, and he accomplished it to some extent, but not completely. He unmasked a great villain, prosperous and powerful, who enjoyed the favour and protection of the State, the private friendship of the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench of Ireland; and he paid dearly in purse and person for the success of those efforts.

But what John Magee has left undone it remains for me to do in the succeeding notice of the "Freeman's Journal:"

to put the exact information before the public which is to be obtained in the records of courts of criminal jurisprudence, and in cotemporary journals respecting the career of Francis Higgins, from the beginning to the end of its infamy.

CHAPTER VII.

"The Public Register, or Freeman's Journal."

"Printed by order of the committee at their printing office, and over St. Andeans Arch, near Cook Street, Dublin."

The numbers of the first volume were printed and published by Alexander M'Cullock, a bookseller of Kewry Street, and subsequently by William Williamson, at the Mæcenas Head, Bride Street, Dublin. 1763—1865.

This journal, originally published twice weekly, made its first appearance the 10th September, 1763. It was printed on both sides of two leaves, folio size, 16 inches by 10. Price 1d.

It is said, erroneously, to have been established by Charles Lucas, and to have been set up specially for the advocacy of his views. It was established by three persons engaged in trade in Dublin, mainly certainly, if not wholly, with a view to pecuniary advantages. The names and pursuits of the proprietors were: Mr. John Grant, a merchant, of Jervis Street: Mr. William

Braddell, a woollen draper, of Werburch Street; and Mr. Edward Tandy, a partner of Braddell, in his woollen drapery business.

There was a considerable deal of pretension to eminent political influence and high literary talent in the management of the paper. The public were given to understand the editorial labours and duties of the managers and supervisors of the Journal were performed by a committee (as it was designated), for conducting the "Free Press." In reality the parties who directed the management and conducted the publication of the "Freeman's Journal" were the three shopkeepers, who were the proprietors of the paper.

The first editor was a man of great ability, of whom more has to be said hereafter—Henry Brooke. The chief scribe was a schoolmaster, of Mary's Abbey, of the name of Clarke, a man from various accounts given of him by his contemporaries of considerable ability.

Dr. Charles Lucas contributed to the paper from its commencement; but by no means frequently. He wrote under the signatures of "A Citizen," and "Civis," and sometimes—rarely, however—affixed his name to his contributions.

In the history of British Journalism, by Alexander Andrews, 1859, Vol. I., p. 294, we find the following notable account of the origin of the "Freeman's Journal:"—

"In 1763, there bounded into public favour a newspaper, nurtured by a committee of *United Irishmen*,

and named 'The Freeman's Journal.' This new and popular Dublin paper was put under the management of Dr. Lucas, who, by his talent and energy, won for it the highest position from the very first, and got such men as Grattan, Flood, Burgh, and Yelverton for his coadjutors. Its influence increased when its editor was returned to parliament, as one of the representatives of the city of Dublin; but it waned on his death in 1774, falling behind 'Saunders' News Letter,' which had been started about the same time, and now took the lead."

How to write of Irish History in England, for English readers, is a matter perhaps of small importance. Errors in facts, names, and dates, are of little moment, compared with errors in style or diction. But it might not be too much to expect that the gentlemen who do Irish history on the other side of the water the honour to notice it, would make themselves slightly acquainted on some occasions with things, times, and persons of historic interest. Mr. Andrews states that the "Freeman's Journal" was founded in 1763, nurtured by a committee of *United Irishmen*: nevertheless the society of United Irishmen was not founded till 1791.

In the management of the new paper, under Dr. Lucas, we are told that Grattan,* Flood, Burgh, and Yelverton were the coadjutors of Lucas "from the very first."

* H. Grattan, born 1751, entered parliament in 1775.

Now in 1763 Grattan was only twelve years of age, Flood thirty-one, Burgh about eighteen, and Yelverton about twenty-two. Grattan, consequently, may be taken out of the list, and neither Burgh nor Yelverton had been then called to the bar, therefore were unlikely to be engaged in newspaper affairs.

"The Freeman's Journal" never was under the management of Dr. Lucas.

"Charles Lucas, of the city of Dublin, apothecary," fled from Ireland, October, 1749, in consequence of certain resolutions of the Irish House of Commons, declaring him an enemy to his country for his writings in the press, "tending to promote sedition and insurrections," and for the same directing the speaker's warrant to be issued for his arrest. Lucas weathered the storm, however; after twelve years' residence in London, returned to Ireland, and in 1762 entered parliament as representative of the city of Dublin, and continued to represent that constituency to the period of his death, the 4th of November, 1771. So much for the accurate knowledge of affairs in this country, which suggests the enquiry how Irish history is to be written in England?

Of another Irish paper we have information from Mr. Andrews, no less remarkable than that which he has given respecting "The Freeman."

Mr. Andrews (Vol. I., p. 295), in reference to the "Union Star," says:—

"The most violent paper was the 'Union Star,' under the management of *Arthur Young*, who had pre-

viously been proposing rebellion in 'The Press,' and he was assisted by Thomas Addis Emmet, and the other chiefs of the 'United Irishmen' insurrection. Thomas Moore wrote one letter in it, which so frightened his mother that she got him to pledge himself not to repeat it. And well might the good lady be alarmed, for this was the kind of language held by the 'Union Star':—'We here offer to public justice the following detestable traitors as spies and perjured informers,' and then follow the names and descriptions of the parties denounced"

What are we to think of the statements made by this English historian of journalism, in relation at least to Ireland, when we find there is not one particle of truth in the charge brought against Thomas Addis Emmet, and other chiefs of the "United Irishmen." Not one of them ever wrote a line for the assassination journal—"The Union Star."

Moore tells us in his own journal (vide "Memoirs and Correspondence of Thomas Moore," edited by Lord John Russell, Vol. I., p. 65), he communicated two articles to "The Press" newspaper, edited by A. O'Connor, and at the request of his mother then ceased to write for it. Dr. McNeven and T. A. Emmet in their "Pieces of Irish History," and Wm. Sampson in his Memoirs, assert that T. A Emmet and his colleagues in the directory used all their efforts in vain to put an end to the atrocious writings in the "Union Star," which they considered most injurious to their cause.

Our enlightened writer of Irish historical matter for English readers tells the latter that the advocate of assassination was never discovered. He was shielded, of course, from all danger of detection in that unhappy country where murder is so common, and the impunity of that crime is so lamentable. He tells us that the Government offered a large sum of money for the discovery of the publisher of that organ of assassination, but the discovery was never made.

Every well-informed reader of Irish history of the period in question knows that the "Union Star" was published, printed, and composed by Walter Cox; that he revealed that fact to the Government in the year 1798; that his disclosures brought upon him, not the vengeance of the law, but its pecuniary aid to take him to the United States, and, on his return to Ireland, a pension and a second grant, in 1815, to take him again to the United States. So much for the subject—how to write Irish history for the English market!

Dr. Charles Lucas, by an Act of the Dublin Corporation in 1749, was disfranchised and denounced; held to be an enemy of his country, and outlawed. By another Act of the same assembly, of May, 1761, he was declared restored to all his municipal rights. So that his term of exile was a period of twelve years.

The first volume of the "Freeman's Journal" and several other of the early volumes of it are in my possession. I do not believe the first volume exists in any other library in Dublin, except that of the Royal Irish Academy.

The first number of the first volume of the "Freeman's Journal," for September 10th, 1763, commences with a dreary article, blending truisms of the tritest kind with sophisms of the most manifest description, that extends to four columns, and may be considered a very fair specimen of the vapid, declamatory, transcendental and exuberant patriotic style of newspaper oratorical writing that was then in vogue, and for thirty years that distinguished that journal, till it changed hands and principles and fell (lower it could not fall) into those of a man of infamous notoriety—Francis Higgins.

The article above referred to begins with the beginning of the world. The public are informed that "man comes into this world the weakest of all creatures, and while he continues in it is the most dependant."

Then they are reminded—"Sacred history appears to intimate that man was originally created invulnerable and immortal, the angelic lord and controller of this earth and these heavens that roll around us."

Then they are assured, perhaps for the first time—"Even in our present feeble and fractured state, a discerning eye may discover some sketches and small fragments of man's magnificent ruin."

Then the important fact is pointed out: "Thus man, feeble, ignorant, and deeply depraved, compelled to derive *strength, wisdom and virtue, itself from society.*"

Then there is a shadowy allusion to its great redeeming instrument—"External signs of grief and rejoicing,

articulate sounds, ideas, signified by figures or letters, and, above all, the quick and apparent communication of a *Free Press*, are as animal spirits to a body politic or *Society*."

Then the public are frightened, first in Latin, then, in charity, in English, by a danger looming in the distance: "Every member of the community at the first aspect of it says to himself, as Horace says, 'What! don't you perceive that the danger must speedily reach yourself, for it is your business that is in hand when your neighbour's house is on fire?' The first thing that a subtle robber does is to thrust a gag in your mouth to prevent your calling for help and alarming the neighbouring people, that he may plunder you with security and at his leisure."

Then a little more light is let in on the coming danger: "Turkish tyranny hath at once plucked up liberty by the roots, in forbidding the printing of all writings whatever through their dominions."

Then English tyranny is mysteriously hinted as being analagous to Turkish: "Tyranny is of all sorts, sects, parties, and conditions, from the *monarch* who sits on his throne to the *ditcher* at sixpence a day. . . "We, therefore, openly declare ourselves the enemies of all tyranny, and of all sorts of tyrants, whether single or Hydras—the one or many-headed monster."

After this bold declaration of war with tyrants and tyrannies of all sorts, the writer evidently feels his kind patrons, the public, may desire to know who the persons

are whose journal is thus cried up, for what object it has been established, and he gives this satisfactory answer to the query, *Quid vult hic hiatus magnus?* "Whence or who are they? What do the fellows gape for? Whence, or who, or what they may be at, those inflammatory setters up of a free press in Ireland? To this we answer that we do not think it necessary to say who or what we are, though we think it expedient to declare what we are not. We are of no party, of no sect, of no faction whatever."

Then the writer condescends to be a little less general in the allusions to those things which are not to be done in the "Freeman's Journal," and descends to particulars, set forth partly in prose and partly in poetry: "We engage never to point at any breach, but in order to repair it; never to probe a wound, but in order to heal it.

> "Cursed be the line, how well soe'er it flow,
> That tends to make one worthy man our foe;
> Gives virtue scandal, innocence a fear,
> Or from the soft-eyed virgin steals a tear."

And finally, in the same hazy, superfine style of newspaper programme writing, the public are assured—"For virtues, for the patriot, for the lover, for the benefactors of mankind, we bear the due wreath of approbation or renown. We bear the scourge alone for the immoral, the disloyal, the injurers of innocence—the oppressors of the enemies of virtue, of liberty of our country." [!]

Exit scribe of the "Freeman's Journal," with a flourish of trumpets and shouts of "The wreath and the rod of the Free Press for ever."

People in our days complain of leading articles being long and wearisome when they extend to a column. It was by no means uncommon to see those articles in the "Freeman" which served the purposes of leaders, extending to three, four, nay, even five columns. One of these, headed, as usual, "To the Committee of the Subscribers for establishing a Free Press in Dublin," in the form of a letter addressed to Lord Halifax, Lord Lieutenant, &c., extends to six columns, less a few lines, in the ninth number of the "Journal," for October 8th, 1763. In this *lengthy* epistle, the scribe who did this piece of political literature of the "Freeman's Journal," for the trio of Dublin traders (two of whom were woollen drapers of Werburgh Street, and one a merchant of Jervis Street), who were its proprietors, lectured the Viceroy on the prevailing political vices of men in power, especially of the people styled "Undertakers," "Government Hacks," State Brokers," &c.

The lecturer of his Excellency deals largely and in "Ercles' vein" with "The Business of the Crown," "The Rights of the People," "The Wrongs of the Oppressed," "The Paternal Virtues of the Sovereign George III.," "The King who made his Glory the Happiness of his People," "The Palladium of Liberty, a Free Press," "The Loyalty of a People who enjoyed a Constitution like ours, which it was the chief object of our Patriot Sovereign's care to strengthen and improve, for which he has given us his unerring word." Who could the writer be? There is no name or signature to

his letter; he was at once a friend of the Constitution in Church and State, and a champion of Royalty, an Irish patriot, a firebrand in the civic councils, a fawner on the Viceroy. Two passages in this six-column letter solve the mystery. The writer was Dr. Charles Lucas, then recently returned from his long exile to Ireland, and returned to Parliament by the citizens of Dublin:

"I should think myself wanting in gratitude and duty to the most gracious of sovereigns if I did not shew my readiness at all times and occasions to testify my respect for the representive men of his government, especially in that portion of this kingdom, *whose metropolis has done me the honour to choose me one of their members in Parliament.*

"Few, if any, of his Majesty's subjects have been distinguished with such marks of the Royal clemency as the King has been pleased to honour me withal. . . .

"*My Lord, I am but a few months returned, under his Majesty's most gracious protection, from a tedious, almost twelve years' exile.*

In the "Freeman's Journal" for March 10th, 1764, there is a good article on the tendency of the pursuits and positions of great lawyers in high places to become bad friends of liberty, and faithless champions of the press and of the people. In that article, the readers of the "Freeman's Journal" are reminded of the following passages in the legal life of Judge Scroggs:

In the reign of Charles II., Sir William Scroggs,

Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, employed a functionary designated by him "Messenger of the Press," to serve warrants issued by him against printers and publishers of papers obnoxious to Government. This inquisitorial functionary was invested with power to enter shops and premises of printers and publishers, to ransack them, to seize on printed productions, and on suspected printers and publishers of them.

"The Messenger of the Press," the minister of Scroggism, a Mr. Stephens (perhaps a progenitor of the Head Centre of Fenianism, and C O. I. R.) became so great a terror to the people of the press that they brought a complaint against him and his employer before the House of Commons in 1680.

Mr. Stephens was brought to the bar of the House, examined, and called on to declare the authority under which, in two cases of warrants, he had acted.

The following is a copy of one of them:

"Whereas the King's Majesty hath lately issued out his proclamation for suppressing the publishing unlicensed news and pamphlets of news, notwithstanding which there are divers persons who do daily print and publish such unlicensed books and pamphlets:

"These are therefore to will and require you, and in his Majesty's name to charge and command you, and each and every of you, from time to time, and at all times so often as you shall be required thereunto, to be acting and assisting to Robert Stephens, Messenger of the Press, in the seizing of all such books and pamphlets as aforesaid;

as he shall be informed of the authors, printers, or publishers of such books and pamphlets, you are to apprehend them and have them before me, or before one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, to be proceeded against as to the law shall appertain. *Anno Domini*, 1680.

To all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, &c., whom these may concern.

"W. SCROGGS.

"To ROBERT STEPHENS, Messenger of the Press."

A Committee of the House, having duly considered the complaint and the documents connected with them,

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee that the said warrants are arbitrary and illegal."

The House agree with the Committee in the said Report.

Then the House "Resolved, That Sir William Scroggs, Knight, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, be impeached upon the said Report and the Resolutions of the House thereupon."

January 5th, 1680-1. The articles against Sir W. Scroggs were read, eight in number. Of these the 6th article is the most important, and the following is a copy of that part of it which is, in fact, a summary of all:

"All which words, opinions, and actions of the law Sir William Scroggs were by him spoken and done traitorously, falsely, and maliciously, to alienate the hearts of the King's subjects from his Majesty, and to

set a division between him and them, and to subvert the fundamental laws and the established religion and Government of this kingdom, and to introduce Popery, and an arbitrary and tyrannical Government, contrary to his own knowledge, and the known laws of the realm of *England*. And thereby he, the said Sir William Scroggs, hath not only broken his own oath, but also, as far as in him lay, hath broken the King's oath to his people: whereof he, the said Sir William Scroggs, representing his Majesty in so high an office of justice, had the custody. For which the said Commons do impeach him, the said Sir William Scroggs, of high treason against our Sovereign Lord the King and his crown and dignity, and other the high crimes and misdemeanours aforesaid."

The articles were carried to the Lords by Lord Cavendish.

The Parliament being soon prorogued, this affair was dropped. However, the Lord Chief Justice was removed from his high station, and allowed a pension for life—an ample one, no doubt, for his good services to the then ministry.

So much for the Scroggs of former times.

The "Freeman's Journal" to the close of 1764 continued the same flimsy rag of a paper, published twice weekly, it was at its first appearance. Of the sixteen columns of the "Freeman's Journal," No. 31, for Dec. 22nd, 1764, three-quarters of a column is devoted to Irish intelligence; and of that space all but one-fourth

is occupied with Dublin accidents and robberies. The mysterious gentlemen of *the Committee for conducting the Free Press*, to whom all correspondence for the "Freeman's Journal" had to be addressed, either were myths, fabulous personages, who had no local habitation, or name, or actual existence, or they had a sinecure berth of it on the "Freeman's Journal." In the No. 31 above-mentioned, for Dec. 22nd, 1764, there is one brief letter, and that is a lamentation over the depravity of genteel society in Dublin. The committee for conducting the Free Press are implored to stand forth manfully in defence of public morals, to stem the tide of extravagant entertainments in the City of Dublin. The committee are called on to denounce the abominable lust, as it may be called, for entertainments called drums, card parties, repasts, with most costly dishes *a la mode de Paris*, feasts got up for ostentatious displays, &c.

Any signal development of the energies and intellectual activity of the people of any country in which there is a platform for public opinion, might be expected to be first found manifested in its periodical literature.

Such, however, was not the case in Ireland. The signs and tokens of that expansion of mental power and awakening of thought, and latent and elevating desires of a civilising character in Irish society, which took place in Ireland in the interval from 1750 to 1782, were more manifest in theatricals, amusements, private and professional, in parliamentary discussion and the pulpit, in

architectural improvements and in a taste for art, than in the newspaper press of that period, or any other sort of literature, except that of political literature.

The "Freeman's Journal" became, a few years after the return of Lucas to Ireland, a loud assertor of Irish national principles; was always in opposition to government, a strenuous assertor of Irish Protestant Parliamentary rights and privileges, a fierce assailant of the religion of Roman Catholics, and an incessant reviler of Popish priests. Here is a specimen of its polemics.

In the "Freeman's Journal" from April 14th to the 18th, 1767, we find the following:—

"Everybody knows the unlimited power which the Popish priests exercise over the minds of their people; a fellow, after half a dozen murders and robberies, goes to death with great composure, provided the priest assures him of salvation, which assurance is ordinarily purchased with a good part of the plunder for which he suffered death. What I propose then is, that no Popish priest for the future be suffered, on any pretence whatsoever, to enter the walls of Newgate, unless sent thither for his crimes, and in that case, that he be kept apart, and not permitted to converse, even by signs, with the other criminals, neither allowed to attend them at the gallows, nor exchange a word with them in their passage thither."

Here is a specimen of the only sort of vigilance of the authorities which found favour in the sight of the "Freeman's Journal."

In the "Freeman's Journal" from March 10th to the 14th, 1767, we find the following:—

"On Wednesday night a Papist mass-house, which was kept at the back part of a tradesman's house, near Salt Petre Bank, was suppressed; about twenty mean-dressed people, with the priest, were assembled; but on the alarm of Peace Officers, made their escape at a back door."

This journal originally published twice weekly, on four pages, of three columns each, was enlarged to four columns each page, and issued thrice weekly in October, 1769.

The size of this paper at its commencement was sixteen inches in length, by ten in breadth. It was printed on both sides of two leaves, in twelve columns.

Gilbert says: "Dr. Lucas has been generally supposed to have founded the 'Freeman's Journal,' but Henry Brooke appears to have been its originator and first editor, his principal literary assistant being Bernard Clarke, of Mary's Abbey, a schoolmaster, who suffered considerably in 1753 from having written a number of pamphlets in favour of 'the patriots,' by whom he was ungratefully treated." *

I find evidence in a rival journal of Dr. Lucas having been connected with this paper as an occasional gratuitous writer in its columns, and of Henry Brooke

* Hist of Dub., Vol. I., p. 291.

being the editor of it, paid for its services at the beginning of its career.

One hundred and four years ago, the "Freeman's Journal" was born, and after a short time was brought up and out in a narrow lane, off Cook Street, to which "St. Audeon's Arch" has given its name, which journal now lives and flourishes in Princes Street, in the immediate vicinity of one of the finest streets in Europe.

The title of the paper at its origin, and long subsequently, was ornamented with a device, representing Hibernia, the harp by her side, holding a wreath in one hand, and a rod of serpents in the other, with the following inscription in the margin—

"The Wreath or the Rod."

In a letter of John Lucas, nephew of Dr. Charles Lucas, printer and publisher of the "Public Monitor, or New Freeman's Journal," fourth number, addressed to the proprietors of the original "Freeman's Journal," and set up early in September, 1772, in avowed hostility to the last-named journal—the writer, John Lucas, defends himself from the charge of plagiarising the title of the "Freeman's Journal," by stating that the original idea of the plan on which that journal was established had been conceived by him, John Lucas, and communicated by him to his uncle, Dr. Charles Lucas, and by the latter "the plan had been laid down" which the proprietors or originators of that paper had carried into effect.

In another letter of John Lucas on the same subject,

in the same journal, he declares that it was the gratuitous writings of Dr. Lucas to which the "Freeman's Journal" were mainly indebted for its early prosperity and success.

In two other letters on the same subject, of September 17th and 18th, 1772, the writer declares that the original articles of agreement for the publication of the old "Freeman's Journal" set forth that a subscription had been entered into for carrying on that journal on patriotic principles; that all surplus profits realised by the publication should be devoted to a charitable institution of Dublin—the Magdalen Asylum; that the names of all the subscribers were recorded in those original articles of agreement; that Henry Brooke, Esq., was appointed compiler of the press (*i.e.* editor); that Mr. John Grant,* proprietor, was entrusted with the duties of superintendant manager and treasurer; that no mention of the names of Mr. Braddell † and Mr. Tandy ‡ are to be found in those original articles of agreement; that at a subsequent period Mr. Braddell, and also Mr. Tandy, were associated with Mr. Grant in partnership in the paper; that there never existed any "Committee for conducting the 'Free Press,'" consisting of persons of independent principles, rank, or literary eminence, by whom the "Freeman's Journal" was directed or supervised as was ostentatiously proclaimed

* Mr. John Grant was a merchant, of Jervis Street.
† Mr. William Braddell was a woollen draper, of Werburgh Street
‡ Mr. Edward Tandy was a partner in the trade of Braddell, of Werburgh Street.

in every number of that journal, but the whole direction and management were in the hands of the three commercial partners; and, moreover, that the whole of the surplus profits of the paper went into their pockets, and were never applied to any charitable institution.

Finally, John Lucas states that Henry Brooke, not being duly paid his stipulated salary, did not remain very long in the office of editor on the printing establishment of Mr. McCulloch, Henry Street, where the paper was first printed.

The politics of the "Freeman" were rabidly Puritanical. The patriotism of this journal consisted in reviling the faction that was in power, abusing the Roman Catholic religion and denouncing the Roman Catholic people of Ireland. It was conducted, however, with more ability than any other Irish newspaper of the period of its origin, and the time that Lucas became connected with it as an occasional writer, there was a marked improvement in it in all respects but one —it remained as rabidly bigotted and intollerant as ever.

"In 1770," says Gilbert, "the 'Freeman's Journal' became the organ of Flood, Grattan, and the other opponents of the administration of Lord Townshend, who was defended in Hoey's 'Mercury' by Jephson and Simox. Flood's letters to the 'Freeman' were collected and reprinted in 1773, under the title of 'Barratariana,' to which Grattan contributed his celebrated character of Pitt." *

* Hist. of Dub., Vol. I., p. 294.

Grattan contributed two of the letters and the preface, Sir Hercules Langarishe contributed some of the letters, and also poetical pieces. The writings in the "Freeman" of Dr. Frederick Jebb, under the signature of "Guatimozin," and of Robert Johnson, of "Causidicus," promoted largely the object of Grattan and the volunteers. These flaming patriots, however were eventually bought up—one was pensioned, the other was pitchforked on the bench.

Of each number of the "Freeman's Journal" five of the twelve columns, on an average, were devoted to correspondence, each letter being addressed to "The Committee for conducting the 'Free Press.'" The subjects were generally public grievances (of Protestants, be it minded), for example: "Poynings' Law," "The Evils of a Military Administration," "The Arbitrary Acts of the Lord Lieutenant," "The Alarming State of Public Affairs," "The Grand Encouragement of Whiteboyism, and the followers of Captain Fearnought, by the Government's Lenity and Slackness in executing the Laws against Papists, Popery being the true Cause of all Riots, Robberies, Insurrections, &c." The signatures to the various letters of the flaming patriots, burning with zeal for true religion and Protestantism, against Popery and Papists, are various, the names of great Pagan patriots and philosophers, or some great principle embodied in a motto.

Never did patriotism indulge in such tirades of rabid intolerance and virulent hate and animosity against

people on account solely of their religion as did Patriot Lucas and his partisans in the columns of the "Freeman's Journal" against the Roman Catholic people of Ireland.

Strange to say, not one perfect set of any Irish newspapers that originated previously to the present century, and indeed of many Irish newspapers prior to 1820, is to be found in any library in Ireland, or of any public institution or private collection—not even in the Stamp Office department of the Excise in the Custom House, Dublin, where, necessarily, for fiscal purposes, collections of Irish newspapers must have existed. On inquiry, however, for those papers published in Ireland prior to the Union, in that department, I was informed that, subsequently to that measure, an order had been sent from the authorities in London to have all the Irish papers sent over, and accordingly they had been sent to London. And on further inquiry I was informed it was needless to have recourse to them in London; they had been deposited there in damp cellars, and so impaired as to be wholly unavailable for any purpose of research.

The earliest yearly volume of the "Freeman's Journal" in the possession of the proprietor, Sir John Gray, is the third, for the year 1765, beginning with the paper for September the 4th, 1765, and ending with that for the 2nd of September same year. The heads of the different articles of a single number for September 10th, 1765, will suffice to give a tolerably good idea of the average

contents of the early volumes for the first seven years of its existence. Of the twelve columns of that number one column is devoted to an epistolary article to the printer. It is a dull, moralising, didactic disquisition, intended to enforce religious duties. Half a column is occupied with a fable, showing how lions are waited on and catered for by jackalls; a column is filled with "A Dialogue between the Two B's," relative to the late peace, a long, prosy, dreary, spiritless article. Half a column is taken up with "A Letter to the Printer on Swift's Fears of Presbyterianism in Ireland Swallowing up Protestantism." Three columns are filled with London News, and intelligence from the "London Gazette." Six letters from correspondents, with signatures—"Philo," "Indolens," "Nothing," "A Trifler," "A Whig," and "Bob Short," occupy three columns. These letters are frivolous in the extreme, utterly devoid of public interest, except for persons labouring under "No Popery mania." Half a column is devoted to "Dublin News," and three columns to advertisements. Of the Dublin news more than a third part, on an average, consisted of accounts of highway and house robberies.

The first volume of the "Freeman's Journal" in my possession differs not in the tone or quality of the matter from the volume just mentioned.

The conductors of this paper published in each number of the first, second, third, and fourth volumes, a statement of their views, principles, and intentions,

wherein they protested a great deal about their designs to promote the wisdom, loyalty, wealth, and prosperity of the nation.

"Methinks the *gentlemen did* protest too much."

In No. IV., for September 17th, 1765, the first contribution of a writer of ability, under the signature of "Publicola," made its appearance. "Publicola's" letters subsequently in the "Freeman's Journal" made no little noise.

In No. VI., for September 24th, 1765, we find a letter of Charles Lucas, signed "A Citizen," against abuses in the Town Council and in the exercise of power on the part of the Corporation. The letters most deserving of attention in the "Freeman's Journal" for the years 1765, 1766, 1767, 1768, and 1769, are those signed "Publicola," "Cœlius," "Marcus," "Aurelius," "A Citizen," "Liberty," "Honestus," "Legion," "Brutus," "Publicus," "Homo," "Rusticus," "Miles," "Benevolus," "Libertas," "Philalethes," "Mechanicus," "A Constitutionist," "Mirator," "Monitor," "Philathea," "Philo-Justitiæ," "Hibernicus" (in 1768), "Justice," "A Freeman," "Civis," and "Citizen."

During the first four years of its existence, the "Freeman's Journal" was not remarkable for talent, spirit, or patriotism. All its talent, spirit, and patriotism, as such things seemed to be understood by its conductors, appeared to consist in ferocious attacks on Popery, Priests, and Papists.

From the year 1766 there was some improvement in

the literary character of the articles and contributions, the latter particularly.

Down to the end of December, 1771, the "Freeman's Journal" continued to be printed at the office over Audeon's Arch, and its size and price to be the same as at its commencement, in September, 1763.

In the "Freeman's Journal" a series of papers, headed the "Copper Alley Gazette," was published in 1766, giving a ridiculous account of the political celebrities of the day, under feigned names. Occasionally satirical poems, and smartly-written squibs, levelled at the supporters of Government, appeared in this journal.

The following song, written in the time of the Duke of Dorset, was revived and circulated in all parts of the country in 1767, on the occasion of a new contest between the Irish Government and the Parliament:

"GRANU-WEAL."

"A courtier called Dorset, from Park-gate did sail,
In his Majesty's yacht, for to court Granuweal;
With great entertainment he thought to prevail,
And rifle the charms of Granuweal.

"Sing budderoo, didderoo, Granuweal,
The fox in the trap we have caught by the tail;
Come fill up your bowls, and to drink ne'er fail,
Sing success to the sons of brave Granuweal.

"Says the courtier of Granu, if you will be true,
I will bring you to London, and do for you too;
Where you shall have pleasure that never will fail.
I'll laurel your shamrock, sweet Granuweal.

"Sing, &c.

"Says Granu to Dorset, if that I would do,
Bring my fortunes to London, my children would rue,
We would be like Highlanders, eating of keal,
And cursing the Union, says Granuweal.

"Sing, &c.

"Says Granu, I always was true to my King;
When in war, I supplied him with money and men:
Our love to King George, with our blood we did seal
At Dettingen battle, says Granuweal.

"Sing, &c.

"Says Granu, I always still loved to be free,
No foe shall invade me in my liberty;
While I've Limerick, Derry, and the fort of Kinsale,
I'll love and not marry, says Granuweal.

"Sing, &c.

"Says Granu, you see there's a large stone put in,
To the heart of the Church, by the leave of the King;
The works of this stone shall be weighed in a scale,
With balance of justice, says Granuweal.

"Sing, &c.

"I hope our brave Hartington, likewise Kildare,
Our trade and our commerce once more will repair;
Our lives we will venture, with greatest assail,
Against French and Spaniards, says Granuweal.

"Sing, &c.

"Now, my dear boys, we've got shut of these bugs,
I charge you, my children, lie close in your rugs;
They'll hide like a snake, but will bite I'll be bail,
I'll give them shillelah, says Granuweal.

"Sing, &c."

In January, 1770, Grattan, writing from Dublin to his friend Day in reference to the war of parties in Parliament and also in the press, says:—

"The 'Freeman's Journal' teems with invective at present; but hitherto the 'Freeman' has slept, and the measures of parliament have not enough engaged the attentions, or affected the passions of the people.

"I shall be soon in England. I am tired of Dublin, with all its hospitality and all its claret."

The sixth, seventh, and eighth volumes of the "Public Register, or Freeman's Journal" are in my possession. The seventh volume begins with the 4th of January,

and ends with the 31st of December, 1770. The eighth volume begins with the 1st of January, and ends with the 31st December, 1771.

In the time of Lord Townshend's viceroyalty the press certainly had unbounded liberty.

When one calls to mind Blackstone's definition of libels, and remembers the defamation, virulent abuse, and scathing invective that both parties, the champions and opponents of Lord Townshend's administration, indulged in, it seems marvellous how they escaped prosecution. Most assuredly the opponents of the English Government in Ireland, half a century or three score years later would not have had the tender mercies of Attorney-Generals Saurin and Blackburne, much to boast of.

"*Libels, Libelli Famosi*," says Blackstone, "taken in their largest and most extensive sense, signify any writings, pictures, or the like, of an immoral or illegal tendency; but in the sense in which we are now to consider them, are malicious defamation of any person, and especially a magistrate, made public, either by printing, writings, signs, or pictures in order to provoke him to wrath, or expose him to public hatred, contempt, and ridicule. The direct tendency of these libels is—a breach of the public peace, by stirring up the objects of them to revenge and bloodshed."*

Libels against Government are now, fortunately, left to their own sure punishment, in the long run—contempt,

* Commentaries. Vol. IV., p. 150.

in which they die out and their authors with them. The days of the attorney-generalship of the Saurins and the Blackburnes, like those of the judgeship of the Scroggs and the Jefferys, are passed away, let us hope, for ever.

In Lord Townshend's administration of the Irish Government a marked improvement took place in the literary character of the articles and contributions of the "Freeman's Journal." From the beginning of January, 1770, articles against the administration, signed "Liberty," of considerable ability, made their appearance in the "Freeman's Journal."

In No. 50, for January the 9th, 1770, the first of a series of the ablest articles I have ever seen on the subject of the operation of "Poynings' Law," and the evils to Ireland resulting from it, is to be found. The signature to that letter is "Liberty." These articles, extending to twenty-three in number, were published in the "Freeman's Journal" down to No. 75, for May, 1770.

Most assuredly the germ of the agitation which terminated in 1782 in the legislative independance of Ireland, existed in those very remarkable letters.

The ablest articles in the "Freeman's Journal" in 1770 bore the signatures of "Liberty," "Ireland," "Brutus," "Cato," "Manlius," "Lucius," "Seneca," "Barber."

In 1770 the "Freeman's Journal was published thrice weekly.

In No. 42, for December 8th, 1770, there is a long rambling, querulous letter of Dr. Charles Lucas, ad-

dressed to the Lord Mayor, George Reynolds, Esq., of two columns, *de omnibus et quibusdam aliis*; and in No. 46, for December 15th following, there is another letter of Dr. C. Lucas to the same Civic Dignitary, of four columns, equally verbose, dull, dreary, and diffuse.

In No. 49, for December the 22nd, 1770, another letter of the same quality appeared of Dr. C. Lucas, addressed to the same unfortunate Lord Mayor, extending *only* to three columns.

In 1771 the articles of most merit in the "Freeman's Journal" were those that bore the signatures of "Barter," "Pascal," "Patricius," "Academicus," "Seneca," "Justice," "Inspector," "Socrates," "Lex et Rex," "Warbeck," "Pro Patria," "Candidus," "Hampden," "Coriolanus," "Ironicus," "Hibernicus," "Agricola," "Tribunus."

In the "Freeman's Journal" for March 30th, 1771, "The History of Baratariana" (to be continued in succeeding papers), with the following heading, forms the leading article:—

"The gentleman who formerly favoured the public with extracts from 'The History of Baratariana' having obtained the entire MS., intends communicating the whole of it to the public through this paper."

In various succeeding numbers, down to No. 116, for May 28th, 1771, "The History of Baratariana" constituted the leading articles, and then the subject ceased altogether, leaving the production incomplete.

The papers in the "Freeman" against Lord Townshend's administration signed "Posthumus, "Pericles," and the dedication of the whole series of articles of a similar kind, were written by Grattan. Into that collection designated "Baratariana," it was contrived to thrust an article of Grattan's, wholly distinct from the letters and papers against Lord Townshend—an admirable sketch of Lord Chatham as an orator, and a description of his oratory, written in London by Grattan. Sir Hercules Langrishe was in favour of introducing this sketch into the collection. "But how shall we introduce it," said Flood. Langrishe said it would be well to introduce it in a note, as extracted from Dr. Robertson's new edition of his work on America, Chatham's favourite subject in Parliament; the pet subject of the Champion of the Colonies. The droll proposal was agreed to, and carried into effect. Many believed that that admirable sketch of Chatham was really the production of Dr. Robertson; but in vain was it looked for in his history. Its preservation is due to Langrishe's droll suggestion.

Grattan, in a letter to Broome, December 15th, 1769, refers to a letter signed "Syndercombe," then recently published in the "Freeman," equal to any of Junius's performances which he had seen in MS., attributed to Henry Flood; but which had been strenuously denied by his friends.

On this subject Henry Grattan, Jun., in the memoir of his father, says:—

"Notwithstanding the pretended disclaimer, the letter here alluded to was written by Mr. Flood. Several appeared under the signature of 'Syndercombe' against Lord Townshend's Government. They were published in the 'Freeman's Journal,' and were afterwards collected in a work entitled 'Barataria'—to which a dedication to Lord Townshend was prefixed, written by Mr. Grattan, and to which several persons also contributed.

"Mr. Flood was also supposed to have been the author of the 'Letters of Junius;' but the comparison of the letters of 'Syndercombe,' which he certainly wrote, with those of Junius, will go far to disprove the probability; and on reference to two letters of Junius to Sir William Draper, this is established beyond doubt." *

Of the production entitled "Pranceriana," a writer in "Notes and Queries" says: "I believe your correspondent Abhba is correct in stating Sir H. Langrishe and Mr. Flood were contributors to the 'Pranceriana,' but I doubt about Mr. Grattan. I once had (and I hope I may not have lost) a copy with the names of some of the writers of the several articles. It is at present (even if I have it) out of my reach; but I can state that the Rev. Mr. Simpson, who, I think, lived to a good old age, in Marlborough Street, in Dublin, was an important contributor, and acted as editor of the little volume, when the pieces were collected. It has a great deal of pleasantry and wit.

* "Grattan's Memoirs," Vol. I., p. 159.

"'Pranceriana' was of a later date than 'Baratariana,' and of inferior interest, and as your correspondent 'A Dublin Graduate,' says (p. 315), Dr. Duigenan was a principal contributor, but he was by no means the only one."

In the volume of the "Freeman's Journal" for 1771, we find abuse of the Marquis of Townshend, Lord Lieutenant, and his administration, in prose and verse, was the staple commodity of the Patriots in their various communications to the Committee for conducting the Free Press.

It is surprising to find in the best of these productions, and even in the celebrated and greatly over-rated productions that are entitled "Baratariana" how little matter of solid worth and grave importance to the interests of the country are to be found in the many diatribes against the unfortunate Viceroy, Lord Townshend, in prose and verse. One of the smartest is a poem on the prorogation of Parliament, and the summary passing of certain money bills which had been strenuously opposed by the opposition. This production, signed "Comus," is evidently from the pen of a ready and able writer.

"A BALLAD ON THE REJECTION OF THE ALTERED MONEY BILL.

[Written by Sir Hercules Langrishe in 1771, on Lord Townshend's alteration of an Irish Money Bill.]

I.

"I'll tell you a story, 'tis not of three crows,
Nor the dog that the letter refus'd to disclose,
But a strife 'mongst the Commons that lately arose,
Which nobody can deny.

II.

"They granted their sovereign a gallant supply.
But Thurloe resolved (that Prerogative spy)
That a power to alter their bill he would try,
Which nobody can deny.

III.

"Then, lest that the Commons might take it to heart,
A letter was written by Rochford with art,
To tell them, the change did not matter a ——,
Which nobody could deny.

IV.

"But when to the members this letter was read,
Old Clement suspected, the wise shook their head;
A committee they'd have to compare it, they said,
Which nobody can deny.

V.

"And when they examined and found how 'twas altered,
That Rochford had lied, and that Townshend had palter'd,
Burgh swore in a rage, 'They ought both to be halter'd,'
Which nobody can deny.

VI.

"Flood, Langrishe, Bushe, Hussey, were all in a flame,
Perry, Brownlow, O'Brien, each patriot name,
Said the bill ne'er should pass, but go back as it came,
Which nobody can deny.

VII.

"The courtiers began at each other to stare,
Will Gamble was absent, Jack Mason not there,
Confusion for once seized on Averell's heir,
Which nobody can deny.

VIII.

"First *Power* hobbled up, and cried, 'What is this rout?'
('Twas *he* that gave Blackstone the elegant clout)
Sure Cotton's included, tho' Cotton's left out,
Which nobody can deny.

IX.

"Smooth Godfrey declared 'twas all in the Greek,
And hoped that we never would act upon pique;
But if George gave a slap, we'd then turn t'other cheek,
Which nobody can deny.

X.

"Macartney profess'd that for half his estate,
He would not have wish'd this had come in debate,
Though he thought his amendments were not very great,
Which nobody can deny.

XI.

" ' If the bill they rejected,' he simper'd and said,
' That the King would appoint a new house in their stead ;
And, as for the placemen, they'd forfeit their bread '
Which nobody *should* deny.

XII.

" The matter was grave, and all joke was apart ;
Joe Miller, *Poor Robin*, and *Watson* so smart,
Were now of no use, though he had them by heart.
Which nobody can deny.

XIII.

" The Prime Serjeant then, with a shuffling preamble,
Like a nag that before he can canter must amble,
Betwixt right and wrong made a whimsical shamble.
Which nobody can deny,

XIV.

" ' 'Twas important,' he said, ' and availed not a groat.'
But whether it was right, or whether it was naught,
Or whether he'd vote for it, or whether he would not,
He'd neither assert nor deny.

XV.

" The next that stepp'd forward was innocent *Phil*.
Who said, ' that in things of the kind he'd no skill,
But yet that he thought it a mighty good bill,'
Which nobody could deny.

XVI.

" Then moved to adjourn to Monday, or so.
' That Townshend might *talk* to each friend and each foe,
And *then* he could guess how the matter would go.'
Which nobody can deny.

XVII.

" Thus Hely, Sir George, Godfrey Power, and Phil,
Would fain have seduc'd them to swallow this pill ;
But the Commons soon smoked them, and threw out the bill.
Which nobody can deny.

XVIII.

" And here we conclude our historical strain ;
So God bless his Majesty, long may he reign,
To alter our money bill always in vain.
Which nobody can deny."

Many curious specimens of the style and tone of political journalism in the years 1770 and 1771, might be given from the columns of the "Freeman's Journal," affording a fair sample of the telling articles and fierce assaults on Viceroys, functionaries of the State, and Ministerial supporters that mainly constituted patriotism, and public spirit, and successful journalism in Ireland about a century ago.

During the virulent war in ludicrous verse waged in 1771 and 1772 between the two Georges—Howard and Faulkner—in one of "the Poetic Epistles from George Edmund Howard, Esq., to George Faulkner, with Annotations by the Alderman" (1772), the "Freeman's Journal" is assailed in the person of Henry Brooke, Esq., "at first the conductor of the Free Press," subsequently the writer of papers in papers which appeared in the "Freeman's Journal," printed at Audeon's Arch, in Old Bridge Street, Dublin. Brooke is thus assailed as the "Freeman's" journalist :—

> "Like Twiss, his hireling muse engages,
> On any side that pays best wages.
> One while staunch friend to Martin Luther,
> He finds pure light and Gospel truth there;
> Then thro' the realm makes proclamation
> For Popery, priests, and toleration.
> He first, with many a fair pretence
> To public spirit, truth, and sense,
> Hatched that disgrace to law and reason—
> That mass of slander, dullness, treason—
> That journal that the Arch produces,
> For singeing foul or viler uses."*

The following are a few of the most telling stanzas of the poem—

* In a long note, the place where the "Freeman" is printed is described—"Audeon's Arch, and the dumb old woman who attended to answer questions."

"A NEW SONG.

"To the tune of 'Chevy Chase.'

[In the "Freeman's Journal" of January 12th, 1771.]

"God prosper long our noble King,
Our Lords and Commons all;
A prorogation once there did
In C(ollege) Green befall.

"To hunt the Commons out of door,
L(ord) T(ownshend) took his way;
The bill may rue that got unpast
The hunting of that day.

"He told the Commons, first of all,
'To them he chiefly came
To give them thanks, and eke reproof,
All in his master's name.'

"He wisely told the statute o'er
Of Philip and of Mary;
And stout Sir Edward Poynings' law,
From which he'd never vary.

"Then, having got the money bill
The Crown desired to carry,
He wished the Knights and burgesses
No longer there might tarry.

"'Good God!' cried Lucas in a rage,
Amazed, astounded quite;
'Are burdens then the royal grace,
And taxes our birthright?'

"Then cast his eyes in sorrow down,
As one in doleful dumps;
'Revenge!' he cried, 'though legs are gone,
I'll fight upon my stumps.'

"Quick as the lightning's vivid flash,
F(lood) started in his place;
'Stand fast, my merry men,' he cried,
'We'll give them *grace* for *grace*.'

"O'B(rie)n, sprung from Irish kings,
His eyes cast down with shame—
'Must Irishmen,' he said, 'detest
The sound of George's name?

"'Shall we, because we've given much,
No recompence ensure;
Get no return, obtain no law
But laws to make us poor?'

"Stern B(rownlo)w cried, 'since it must be,
We're blasted in our prime;
Our future grants shall never last
'Bove six months at a time.'

"M'C——— smiled to see them sad,
And simper'd at their moan;
For he was often wont to laugh,
And often laugh'd alone.

"He told a story of three crows —
Three crows upon a stone—
And when that these three crows were gone,
Why then that there was none.

"This news came to our British King,
'Dissolve,' he straight did say;
'I trust I have within my realm
Three hundred good as they.'

"These tidings came to fair Ireland,
And all her merry men;
'Sith 'twill no better be,' say they,
'We'll choose the best again.'

"God save the King, and him he sent,
To let us dine in peace;
And graciously cause foul debate
In Parliament to cease.

"T——H——D."

In the "Freeman's Journal" for February 2nd, 1771, the first article, of two columns, is devoted to the advocacy of the baths, then recently established in Dublin, by "a very ingenious modest stranger, very conversant in the art of bathing, conducting and administering all sorts of baths who came and pitched his tent among us." Again in the "Freeman" of February 9th and 12th, two columns more are devoted to the same subject. The person above referred to was the celebrated pseudo-Turk, who styled himself Dr. Achmed, imposed on the credulity of the Dublin doctors, married an Irish actress of some notoriety, and who subsequently abandoned her.

Dr. Achmed, the Turk, the introducer of the so-called Turkish bath system into Ireland, was neither doctor nor Turk, but a poor Irishman, the son of a decent Dublin tradesman of the name of Kearns.

The next advertisement appearing in the "Freeman's Journal" of April 25th, 1771, of the proposals for establishing baths on the plan put forward by Mr. Achmed, bears the signatures of twenty-five physicians of Dublin, among whose names we find those of Dr. Robert Emmet, Dr. Charles Lucas, Dr. John Rutty, Dr. John Curry, Dr. N. Barry, and Dr. Purcell. And in a subsequent advertisement we find added to that certificate the names of eighteen Dublin surgeons. Of the noted person, styled Dr. Achmed and his first establishment of public baths in Dublin, a brief account may not be misplaced in these pages.

The Origin of Public Baths in Dublin.

The earliest notice of public baths in Ireland, simple, medicated, cold, and hot, with stones, vapour, with chambers of various degrees of temperature, and appendages, water brushes, appurtenances to *douche* bathing, &c., is to be found in "Proposals for establishing a set of elegant and commodious baths in the city of Dublin," published in the "Freeman's Journal," May 11th, 1771. The proposals emanated from a person who signed himself "Achmed," whose Oriental designation was evidently intended to convey an idea that the proposer was Oriental. These proposals were to be carried into

effect by means of a subscription, and the cost of the undertaking was estimated at £612 4s. The proposals were accompanied by the two certificates above-mentioned of the principal physicians and surgeons of Dublin, setting forth their belief that the establishment of public baths in this city would, under proper regulations, be extremely useful, and that Mr. Achmed was well qualified for carrying such a scheme into execution.

The proposals conclude with a notice stating that until such time as he should be enabled to open the baths in Dublin, Dr. Achmed would receive patients at the baths that had already been opened at Finglass, on May 11th, fit for the use of all patients who might require them, "as agreeable *lodges* from one room to entire houses as any in or about the city of Dublin." It is to be observed in these proposals the proprietor is styled Mr. Achmed, but in a succeeding advertisement in the "Freeman's Journal," September 28th, 1771, in a report of the committee of physicians and surgeons, appointed to consider the regulations for the Dublin baths, dated August 16th, 1771, C. Lucas, in the chair, the projector is styled Dr. Achmed, while in another report, dated August 19th, the same year, accompanied by a certificate signed by twenty-five physicians, and thirty-one other persons, the projector is designated as Mr. Achmed. The gentlemen signing this certificate state, "that they had that day viewed Mr. Achmed's baths on the Batchelor's Quay, and that they appeared to them very methodically constructed; that the house is

elegantly and completely furnished, and the whole well calculated for public utility." And at the end of the year, by another advertisement, we learn, that the baths were then in successful operation.

The success of *Doctor* Achmed's baths, however, was not of long continuance. Public opinion became divided about the project and the projector; while some believed in the utility of the establishment, others did not; and while several of the projector's patrons maintained he was a genuine Turk and doctor, the public at large began to suspect that he was neither the one nor the other. It was asserted by some of the former that he had renounced the religion of Islam, and in token of the sincerity of his conversion, embraced an early opportunity of marrying a Christian wife in this city. While the controversy was carried on by his patrons and opponents a ridiculous story was invented and propagated, which gave a *coup-de-grace* to the bathing establishment of Mr., or Dr., Achmed. It was stated that a melancholy accident had occurred at the baths on the occasion of an entertainment being given to his medical friends and patrons, in gratitude for their support. One of the principal rooms, in which there was a large tank of cold water, had been selected for the scene of the entertainment; planks had been laid across the tank, and tables for the banquet placed immediately over the temporary platform. The construction of it, however, it appeared, was not sufficiently solid, and the guests had not been long seated when the temporary platform gave way, and the col-

lective medical science of the city of Dublin was plunged into the reservoir of cold water, and was found by the assistants of the establishment floundering in a bath amidst a confused mass of chairs and tables, the fragments of the feast, and the wreck of plates and dishes, from which the unfortunate Doctors *nantes in gurgite vasto* were eventually disengaged with considerable difficulty.

Dr. Achmed's name was Kearns; he was the son of a Dublin tradesman. How long his baths survived the ridicule thrown on them, or he survived, the bath history saith not.

Records of deaths, births, marriages, and appointments in the "Freeman's Journal" for 1771, of more or less interest:—

In No. 68, for February 5th. "At Graig, Harding Hay, Esq., of Raheen, Co. Wexford, married to Miss Mary Anne Rossiter."

Harding Hay was the father of the late Edward Hay, Secretary of the Catholic Association.

In No. 79, for March 2nd. "Died, in Great Booter's Lane, Mr. McNally, grocer."

In No. 87, for March 21st. "Married, John Lucas, Esq., barrister-at-law, to Miss Montgomery, daughter of Alderman Montgomery."

In No. 95, for April 5th. "Died, in Cork, Fenton Addis, Esq., barrister-at-law."

In No. 101, for April 23rd. "Married, a few days

ago, Morgan O'Connell, Esq., of Derrynane, Co. of Kerry, to Miss Catherine O'Mullane, daughter of the late John O'Mullane, Esq."

In No. 11, for September 24th. "Married, Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq., Author of 'Love in a Village,' to Miss Dean, of Jermyn Street, London."

In No. 13, for September 28th. "The Rev. Samuel Madden elected Portrieve of the ancient and loyal Corporation of Irishtown for the ensuing year."

In No. 26, for October 29th, 1771. "Mr. John Giffard, of Fishamble Street, apothecary, and Mr. Thos. Powell, were elected Wardens, being election day of the Corporation of Apothecaries."

This is the *début* on the public stage of the future notability, "Jack Giffard, the Dog in Office."

In No. 29, for November 5th, 1771, appears the following important notice:—

"Dublin, November 5th.—Yesterday evening, at six o'clock, departed this life Dr. Charles Lucas, Representative of the City of Dublin: a man who never had an enemy among the friends of liberty, nor a friend among the enemies of Ireland."

This is a very brief obituary notice of a man whose writings had mainly contributed to the successful establishment of the "Freeman's Journal." But it is quite evident, from various circumstances in the conduct and management of the paper for two or three years preceding the death of Lucas, that his services to the paper

and to his country were beginning to be very coldly looked on by the trading proprietary of this purely mercantile speculation—the "Freeman's Journal."

Richard Sheridan, Jun. (cousin of Richard Brinsley Sheridan), makes his *début* in print, in the columns of the "Freeman's Journal," March 9th, 1771, in a letter addressed to the Right Hon. John Ponsonby, Esq., in exceedingly turgid terms of rhapsodical admiration and reverence.

The letter begins thus:—

"Good and Great Sir,—

"I should blush at this time if I were to neglect casting my mite into the scale of public spirit: receive then the thanks of a grateful heart, couched in a youthful bosom. Had I the pen of Plutarch I might compare you with the patriots of Italy; but it is sufficient to say you are possessed with a Roman spirit blended with an Hibernian soul. Here the pitiful and narrow-hearted may strike at gratitude as they did at liberty, and accuse me of interested views. Shame and oblivion be called on them! The lovers of Ireland are now called rabble, and their sentiments styled seditious. *Tempora Mutantur.* But I will speak; I will write: I have nothing to lose, and nothing to fear." . . . .

That poor young Richard, like his illustrious namesake, had nothing to lose at that, or indeed at any other period of his life there can be no doubt.

The letter concludes with a quotation—

> "Great Cincinnatus, in his retreat, with brighter lustre shone
> Than guilty Cæsar e'er could shew, though seated on a throne,"

And a dedication of fidelity to his native land:—

"My country's most faithful, humble servant,

"RICHARD SHERIDAN, JUNIOR."

In the "Freeman's Journal" of the 25th April, 1771, we find in a report of a debate in the Constitutional Free Debating Society, at the Music Hall, Fishamble Street, an account of a gold medal being presented to Richard Sheridan, Jun., for his spirited conduct in that society, and for supporting the law of the land against the encroachments of power.

In the "Freeman's Journal" of March 12th, 1771, in a leading article, the revival of an infamous and blasphemous club, similar to that called the "Hell Fire Club," in the city of Dublin is denounced. The new club, formed by a junto of young blasphemers, was styled, "The Holy Fathers." This club had already spread over the country. In one of their orgies the first toast given was "The Devil;" another was "D———n to us all."

The *courageous* young gentleman who gave the latter toast had been assaulted on a previous occasion at one of their meetings, and bore a sound drubbing, without offering to defend himself. Most of the members of this

vile club were young men of fortune. The letter in which this infamous club is denounced is signed "Socrates."

In 1737 we have evidence, in an Irish Parliamentary report, of a similar impious association, the members of which style themselves "The Blasters."

"*A Report from the Lords Committees for Religion, appointed to examine into the Causes of the present notorious Immorality and Profaneness: Made by the Earl of* Granard, *on* Friday, *the* 10*th of* March, 1737.

"*Mr* Lords,

"The Lords Committees for Religion, appointed to examine into the Causes of the present notorious Immorality and Profaneness, beg leave before they report to your Lordships what progress they have made in that inquiry, to observe, that an uncommon scene of impiety and blasphemy appeared before them, wherein several persons must have been concerned: But by reason of their meeting late in the session, they have not been able to prepare a full and satisfactory account thereof for your Lordships; however, they think it their duty to lay it before your Lordships as it hath appeared to them: That before the conclusion, some measures may be taken to put a stop to the spreading of these impieties, which it is to be hoped in the next Session of Parliament, your Lordships will be able, by proper laws and

remedies, wholly to extinguish and prevent for the future.

"The Lords Committees have sufficient grounds to believe (though no direct proof thereof upon oath hath yet been laid before them) that several loose and disorderly persons have of late erected themselves into a society or club, under the name of *Blasters;* and have used means to draw into this impious society several of the youth of this kingdom.

"What the practices of this society are, (besides the general fame spread through the whole kingdom) appears by the examinations of several persons taken upon oath, before the Lord Mayor of this city, in relation to *Peter Lens*, painter, lately come into this kingdom, who professes himself a *Blaster.*

"By these examinations it appears that the said *Peter Lens*, professes himself to be a Votary of the Devil; that he hath offered up prayers to him, and publickly drank the devil's health; that he hath at several times uttered the most daring and execrable blasphemies against the sacred name and majesty of God; and often made use of such obscene, blasphemous, and before unheard-of expressions, as the Lords Committees think they cannot even mention to your Lordships, and therefore chuse to pass over in silence.

"As impieties and blasphemies of this kind were utterly unknown to our ancestors, the Lords Committees observe, that the laws framed by them must be unequal to such erroneous crimes; and that a new law is wanting

more effectually to restrain and punish blasphemies of this kind.

"The Lords Committees cannot take upon them to assign the immediate causes of such monstrous impieties, but they beg leave to observe, that of late years there hath appeared a greater neglect of religion, and all things sacred, than was ever before known in this kingdom, a great neglect of Divine worship, both publick and private, and of the due observance of the Lord's Day; a want of reverence to the laws and magistrate, and a due subordination in the several ranks and degrees in the community; and an abuse of liberty, under our mild and happy Constitution; a great neglect in education; and a want of care in parents and masters of families, in training up their children in reverence and awe; and keeping their servants in discipline and good order, and in instructing them in moral and religious duties; a great encrease of idleness, luxury, and excessive gaming, and excess in the use of spirituous and intoxicateing liquors.

"Wherefore the Lords Committees are come to the following resolutions, *viz.*:

"*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this committee, that his Majesty's Attorney-General be ordered to prosecute *Peter Lens*, with the utmost severity of the law.

"*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an humble address be presented to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, that he would be pleased to order, that a Proclamation may issue, with a Reward for apprehend-

ing the said *Peter Lens*, and that he would be further pleased to give it in direction to the judges in their several circuits, to charge the magistrates to put the laws in execution against immorality, and profane cursing and swearing, and gaming, and to enquire into Atheistical and blasphemous clubs.

"*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the bishops be desired, at their visitations, to give it in particular charge to their clergy, to exhort their people to a more frequent and constant attendance on Divine service.

"*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the visitors of the University, and of all schools, do exhort and require the fellows and masters carefully to instruct the youth committed to their care in the principles of religion and morality, and to inculcate a due reverence to the laws and religion of their country.

"To which report and resolutions, the question being severally put, the House did agree.

"*E. Stern*, Cler. Parliamentor."

The 4th of November, 1771, Dr. Charles Lucas, one of the most remarkable men of his age, died. In the "Freeman's Journal," No. 31, for November 9th, there is an account of the funeral procession and public burial of the remains of Dr. Charles Lucas. In No. 47, for December 17th, there is a report of a funeral discourse on the character and merits of the deceased patriot, pronounced at the burial by Mr. Lewis, in

which his character is considered as a physician, a patriot, a public speaker, and a public writer.

In the "Freeman's Journal" of December 29th, 1771, there is a remarkable letter, addressed to John Fitzgibbon, Esq., father of the future Lord Chancellor, wherein his success as a sharp practitioner in the courts is attributable to the subtleties he imbibed at St. Omer's, in the teachings of the Jesuits and the kind of training he, a Roman Catholic, subsequently received at home, where his religion was proscribed. "Trained in youth," says the writer of this letter, to "cautious subtlety by the wily brotherhood, exercised during manhood in the sophistry of the bar, you successfully blend the art of your early teachers with the venality and craft of a pettifogging lawyer. . . .

"A gentleman of your professional teachings is not to be put on a level with ordinary converts. Accordingly you wisely judged the strongest proofs you could give of your being a true Protestant was to persevere in supporting the Measures of Administration.

"A Loyola—st.

"Monk's Walk, Stephen's Green."

From the time of the death of Lucas, in 1771, the "Freeman's Journal" declined in spirit, character, and popularity.

Whatever the grievances of Ireland may have been from 1770 to 1790, restrictions on the liberty of the

press certainly formed no part of them. In the "Freeman's Journal" for November 23rd, 1773, we find a letter signed "Clitus," addressed, as usual, to that grand invisible myth—"The Committee for conducting the Free Press." "Clitus" lays about him furiously and indignantly, because he has reason to fear a merciless, rapacious, plundering, oppressive government meditates imposing two new taxes—a malt tax and a land tax.

"The time is come," says "Clitus," "to rouse the indignation of conscious innocence crushed by the iron hand of power, to call attention to the wretched fate of a free constitution *deluged with corruption, and flooded with iniquity*, and to a generous confidence betrayed by the basest of men. . . .

"If the people should presume to raise the last murmur of despair to the throne, and to lay the complaints of their grievances before their sovereign, alas! what redress can the poor, friendless, and oppressed expect? Silence, contempt, or insult would be their only return. The Grand Monarch or the Grand Mogul could not have spurned their prostrate slaves with more haughty disdain than George III. did the city of Dublin, as if he had been disgraced and debased by such low-born wretches presuming to vent their complaints *to his mighty Majesty!* How little, how truly despicable does such conduct appear compared with that of *the illustrious King William*, to whose manly spirit King George owes his crown, to that King William to whom every com-

plaint had free access, from whom every grievance had effectual redress."

Considering the odour of Protestant sanctity and loyalty which belonged to the "Freeman's Journal" and hung about the "Committee for conducting a Free Press," and considering that this puritanical journal was written exclusively for Protestant readers, who were exclusively entitled to the blessings and benefits of the British constitution in this world, and those reserved for members of the Established Church of Ireland in the next, the language of "Clitus," it must be confessed, however complimentary to "the illustrious King William," is somewhat seditious to the head of the state of this House of Hanover, and sacrilegious to the head of the Church of Ireland, King George III., of pious, though not of so glorious memory, as his Dutch predecessor.

It must be confessed, even in the best days of the "Freeman's Journal" in the last century, there was a vast deal of bombast, balderdash, and "Ercle's vein" of writing in the furious diatribes of the "Patriots of the Free Press," against Viceroys, Government officials, and all administrations of Government in general.

In October, 1773, one of the most beneficent measures ever proposed by the Viceroy of Ireland, and recommended to the British Ministry—the imposition of a tax on Irish absentees—was successfully opposed by the leading landlords of Ireland, residing chiefly in London. In the "Freeman's Journal" for November 27th, 1773,

the letter of the indignant lords of the soil of Ireland, resident in England, addressed to Lord North, appears. It bears the signatures of Devonshire, Rockingham, Besborough, Milton, Upper Ossory. In that letter the noble Irish absentees say:

"We possess considerable landed property in both kingdoms; our ordinary residence is in England. We have not hitherto considered such residence as an act of delinquency to be punished; or as a political evil to be corrected, to the penal operation of a partial tax. We have had, many of us, our birth, and our earliest habits in this kingdom; some of us have an indispensable public duty, and all of us (where such duty does not require such restriction) have the right of free subjects, of choosing our habitation in whatever part of his Majesty's dominions we shall esteem most convenient.

"We cannot hear, without astonishment, of a scheme by which we are to be stigmatised by what is, in effect, a fine for our abode in this country, the principal member of our British empire, and the residence of our common Sovereign.

"We cannot avoid considering this scheme as in the highest degree injurious to the welfare of that kingdom, as well as of this; its manifest tendency is to lessen all landed property there, to put restrictions upon it, unknown in any part of the British dominions, and as far as we can find without parallel in any civilised country. It leads directly to a separation of these kingdoms in interest and affection, contrary to the

standing policy of our ancestors, which has been, at every period, and particularly at the glorious Revolution, inseparably to connect them by every tie, both of affection and interest."

Of course Irish absentee landlordism prevailed in this instance against a measure calculated to benefit Ireland, as it has ever done in any similar circumstances.

To the beginning of January, 1774, the "Freeman's Journal" was published for the proprietors over St. Audeon's Arch. The Stamp Act not then being in operation, the price continued to be one penny.

The "Freeman's Journal," No. 109, for May 2nd, 1778, continued to be of the same size as at its origin. The printer was then Samuel Leathley—the office still Audeon's Arch.

In 1779 the "Freeman's Journal" was bought ostensibly by a bookseller of the name of Collis, of Capel Street. A change having taken place in proprietorship in 1782 the printing of the paper was transferred from Audeon's Arch to Crane Lane, off Dame Street, to the office of one Forbes Ross, a printer.

In 1781 and 1782 a series of political letters which appeared in the "Freeman's Journal," during the administration of the Earl of Buckinghamshire and Carlisle, under the signatures of "Junius Brutus," "The Constitutional Watchman," and "Lucius Hibernicus," were written with a certain amount of energy and earnestness, approaching fierceness, that makes old, wary lookers-on at the game of politics at all times

uneasy and mistrustful, but especially so, at stirring periods, when questions of great pith and moment are under consideration and in controversy.

In one of the numerous unpublished early letters of "The Man of '82" in my possession, Grattan, in a sketch he made of some political adventurer playing the part of "a flaming patriot," which he sent to his friend Broome, says:

"There is sometimes a successful *impostorship* in the affectation of religion; but in the false zeal of a factious man, simulating patriotism, there is an awkwardness that leads to immediate discovery."

I find Grattan's idea expressed in less terse language, but set forth in terms by no means unworthy of the truth and justice of the subject of Grattan's observation, in an article in the "Craftsman," published by Danvers:

"The perfect character, and most to be valued amongst the Romans, and which indeed made them lords of half the known world, is what Horace gives us in the following lines:

"'Justum, et tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor praxa jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni,
Mente quatit solida.'

"This ode is inexpressibly beautiful, on account of its poetry, and equally useful for its doctrine. It is admired by all men of taste, and must be so by all men of integrity, as it conveys a principle universally esteemed, though too seldom practised—I mean a steadiness in acting, or what we call resolution. Without this virtue,

the greatest magnanimity and liberality of temper have been found to lose their efficacy, or to have taken such a turn as parasites and flatterers have been pleased to give them. Without this guard and support, there will be room for every little prating villain to instil his poison into the most noble parts, choke the spring of generous actions, and lay waste the most beautiful qualities of human nature. Without this barrier, a certain volubility of speech, and florid way of talking, void of wisdom and common honesty, will sap, undermine, or batter down the most exalted virtue, for which very reason every state engineer always keeps up a number of these deep-mouthed ordnance, who may not improperly be called the culverins and blunderbusses of state."

To state the changes in the proprietorship of an Irish newspaper for a period of many years, may appear an easy task, to those unaccustomed to investigation of facts or data that are to be ascertained by registers which are of earlier date than the present century. The difficulty however, is very great, and the labour and research which are necessary to overcome it, it would be much more easy to underrate than to exaggerate.

Such information as I now lay before my readers is of an authentic official kind, that cannot be called in question. In communicating that information, I have to observe, it must be borne in mind that the mode of registering newspapers has undergone important changes at various periods from 1776 to the present time, in

virtue of several Acts of Parliament, varying the form of registration, the quality and the number of the persons registered, and the amount of security given.

Moreover, no registrations prior to 1776 are known to exist. Formerly, the registration was of the printer of the paper, and of his two sureties. The name of the proprietor was not required at all. The printer was required to enter into a bond of £200, with two sureties. One of the sureties in a great number of instances is found to be the proprietor of the paper, but the law did not require him to join in the bond. In course of time the amount of security required was raised from £200 to £300, and eventually the proprietor as well as the printer of a newspaper had to be registered, and where there were several proprietors, the law required that two of them should be registered.

Two kinds of security were given by newspaper bonds which were required with reference to stamp duties and recognisances that had to be entered into in the Court of Exchequer, with a view to responsibility in the event of proceedings against newspapers in libel cases. The registries of declarations of parties connected with newspapers entering into such recognisances, wherein the names of proprietors, printers, and publishers are entered, exist in the Exchequer Office, in the Four Courts, in Mr. Catherow's department, but in a very incomplete state, prior to the present century.

The details that are wanting of an earlier date, with respect to bonds, had to be sought elsewhere, and the

following are the result of my efforts to obtain them, and of their success I may speak with confidence.

But before recurring to them I must once more draw attention to the fact that the "Freeman's Journal" had been the organ of the opinions and the party of Charles Lucas from its origin in 1763 to 1771, and that Lucas died November 4th of that year, and that for some years subsequent to his death, there was no change in the principles or politics of that journal.

In the existing register-books of newspaper printers' bonds, the earliest registry of those of the "Freeman's Journal" is of the date of August 23rd, 1776—"Bond of £200 for Samuel Leathley, printer: Sureties, Edward Tandy, Esq., and John Grant, merchant."

The next bond notice of the "Freeman's Journal," dated June 10th, 1779—"Bond of £200, of Forbes Ross, printer (successor of Samuel Leathley): Sureties, Henry Jebb, Esq., 22, N. Anne Street, and John Carmichael, Hosier, Castle Street."

With respect to the change in the proprietary indicated by the above alteration in the registry of bonds, I have to observe that there are circumstances which connect Mr. Francis Higgins with the two persons who were sureties in 1779 for Forbes Ross. The first of these three persons, Henry Jebb, Esq., four years later was a joint surety for another printer of the "Freeman," and the other surety, John Carmichael, hosier, in the bond of 1779, was, in the year following, a warden of the

guild of hosiers, of which guild Francis Higgins was also a warden in 1785.

But the next entry in the registry of bonds admits of no reasonable doubt as to Mr. Higgins' connection with the "Freeman's Journal" in 1783. We find, under date of June 23rd, 1783, a new bond entered into for William Malone, printer of the "Freeman's Journal" (successor of Forbes Ross) "for £200: Sureties, Sir Henry Jebb, Kt., 21, William Street, and Francis Higgins, Esq., of Ross Lane."

I find by the "Dublin Directories" that Henry Jebb, whose name occurs in the list of surgeons in 1779, marked with an asterisk as a practitioner in midwifery, is similarly described in the same list for 1783, except with the prefix of Sir to his name. There was another Jebb, of unenviable notoriety in Dublin, a cotemporary of this Sir Henry, Dr. Frederick Jebb, whose name appears for the last time in the "Directory" for 1782. This gentleman came out in 1779, in the character of a red-hot patriot, in the celebrated letters on the right of binding Ireland by British Acts of Parliament, under the signature of "Guatimozin," which were published in 1779, from which I quote a single passage:

"And first the imperial sovereignty of any one kingdom over another, *de jure*, is direct nonsense." And the year following we find the Lord Lieutenant, the Marquis of Buckingham, informing Lord North, in a despatch dated November 19th, 1780, that he had found

it necessary to buy off Dr. Frederick Jebb from the violent party in the press, and to secure his services to Government, by a pension of £300 a year during his own and his wife's lifetime.*

In the register of securities of Irish newspapers, under date of June 30th, 1789, we find the following entry—"John Whitworth, printer of the 'Racing Calendar,' bond for £300."

The above mentioned John Whitworth was, at the date of the bond for the "Racing Calendar," the printer of the "Freeman's Journal," as we find him described by Higgins at that period, in a reply to one of the attacks of John Magee. The "Racing Calendar" may, therefore, be set down as one of Higgins' multifarious speculations.

But to return to the registry. From 1783 to 1790, there is no record of any change in the securities of the "Freeman's Journal." But under date of October 14th, 1790, we find a new bond given for Forbes Ross, printer (successor of William Malone), for £300: Sureties, Richard Cole, printer, and John Walker, grocer.

The next change in the securities of the "Freeman's Journal" is under date of August 2nd, 1792—"Bond for £300, for Robert Ross, printer (successor of Forbes Ross): Sureties, Richard Cole, printer, and John Kennedy, baker.

We find, in the Exchequer Office, a return, dated

* See Second Series of "Lives and Times of U. I. M." Second Ed., p. 613.

April 16th, 1798, of a recognisance for Robert Ross, of the "Freeman's Journal:" his sureties, Francis Higgins and John Kennedy.

No change is recorded in the sureties of the "Freeman's Journal" from 1798 to 1802, when we find a change in the mode of registration, the name of the proprietor of the paper being from that time inserted instead of the printer. Under date of August 6th, 1802, we find the following notice—"Frances Tracy, bond for £300: Sureties, Thomas Tracy, pawnbroker, Ross Lane, and Richard Cole, stationer, Trinity Street (At the above date Francis Higgins had gone to his great account).

The next entry in the registry to the above notice is the following: "November 13th, 1802, 'Freeman's Journal,' Philip Whitfield Harvey, bond for £300: Sureties, Richard Cole and *Thomas Tracy*" (same addresses as above).

The next change in the registries of the "Freeman's Journal" securities—"Bond for Robert Harvey for £300,"—same sureties as in former bond.

It will be observed in the preceding bond the name of the then proprietor of the "Freeman's Journal," Philip Whitfield, is substituted by that of Robert Harvey. This change may have been occasioned by an action for libel which had been commenced against P. W. Harvey, which had compelled him to absent himself for some time from Dublin, but the date of that action I have not ascertained.

We find in the Exchequer Office a return dated December 28th, 1802, of a recognisance for Matthew Henry: his sureties, Philip Whitfield Harvey and Richard Cole.

The next change in the registry of securities of the "Freeman's Journal" is dated July 6th, 1807—Sureties, Thomas Tracy, Kennedy Lane, and Francis Hamil, builder.

The last registry of bond securities of the "Freeman's Journal" in which the name of Philip Whitfield Harvey is found, is under date of May 9th, 1826.

The next registry of the securities of the "Freeman's Journal" is dated October 5th, 1826, bond of £300 for Henry Grattan, Esq.: Sureties, Richard Milliken and John Dodd.

A month later we find recognisance entered into in the Exchequer for the weekly "Freeman Journal," dated November 7th, 1826, for Henry Grattan, Esq., proprietor. Edward Duffy, printer.

The next change in the registry of bonds for the "Freeman's Journal" is dated March 31st, 1830, for Patrick Lavelle, Esq.: Sureties, Sir Richard O'Donnell and Joseph M. M'Donnell.

The next change in the registry of bond for the "Freeman's Journal" is dated June 29th, 1837, bond for Mary Lavelle, of £300.

The next change in the recognisances of the "Freeman's Journal" is dated February 8th, 1841—bond for George Atkinson, Esq., and John Gray, Esq., amount £300.

By the law then in force that regulated registrations of newspapers in cases of partnership, where there were several proprietors of the same journal, the name of two only of such partners were required to be registered.

The last change in the registry of recognisances of the "Freeman's Journal" dated January 1st, 1853, is to be found in the records of the Exchequer Office, wherein the customary recognisances appear to be given for a sole proprietor of that paper, Dr. John Gray, and mention is made of the printer, Edward Duffy. And I must observe, to the credit of Dr. Gray and his predecessors since the proprietorship of Henry Grattan, that I have found the name of the same Edward Duffy had been registered as printer of the "Freeman's Journal" so early as the year 1826.

In the preceding four pages I have exceeded the limit I had prescribed to myself in this volume, as to time (to the year 1800), in dealing with the newspaper history of the eighteenth century. There were reasons, however, for so doing, which it is unnecessary to enter into here.

The connection of Charles Lucas with the "Freeman's Journal," from its origin to the end of his career, is so mixed up with various important controversies, and that career of his has left such deep marks in the sands of time in his day, and so largely influenced events, not only in his time, but in that in which we live, that in a work of this kind an accurate memoir of the public life of such a man could not be omitted: such a memoir will be found in a future series of this work.

In that series will be also found a memoir of Mr. Francis Higgins, of no slight historical value, as illustrative of the qualities and services that were sought out in the worst period of Irish history, and secretly employed in espionage and in the newspaper press by the Government of that time, of unprecedented prostitution of principle and venality.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONNECTION OF FRANCIS HIGGINS WITH THE "FREEMAN'S JOURNAL."

1783 — 1802.

Mr. Francis Higgins' connection with the "Freeman's Journal," as a proprietor, dates from the 23rd June, 1783; but he certainly was connected with it as a writer of articles so early as May, 1781, and probably in 1779.

We find the following complimentary notices of the Sham Squire and his connection with the "Freeman's Journal" in the first number of the newspaper, set up in May, 1781—the "General Evening Post;" a paper not to be confounded with the "Dublin Evening Post."

From the "General Evening Post" of the 1st May, 1781:

"A governor, tempted by poverty to reap a golden harvest, even from the ruins of our Constitution; encompassed by sycophants who will stimulate to devastation, if they share the spoil; a casuistical secretary, elevated to that rank for his subtle prerogative productions, treasonable against the sacred majesty of the people; and who is now (oh! horrid prostitution!) bound in *secret compact with the perfidious and despicable Squire of a certain journal, to pour upon the public a deluge of declamation and sophistry, with a view either to cheat us of our liberties, or conquer us by division.* These melancholy truths have awakened the fears of many, and have induced a number of gentlemen, independent in principles and fortune, to establish a newspaper beyond the reach of corruption, under the title of the 'General Evening Post;' of which posterity shall have reason to say *te vindice tuta libertas.*"

From the "General Evening Post" of May 1st, 1781:

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'GENERAL EVENING POST.'

"SIR,—I have read your advertisement respecting your intended publication of a 'General Evening Post,' which must give pleasure to every well wisher of this country, to see so patriotic an undertaking under the conduct of gentlemen, independent in principles and fortunes, to combat, and I hope, for ever silence that infamous journal of corruption, which is under the sole

influence of that greatest of all villains, the *Sham Squire*, to whom you allude. That it is entirely under the conduct of this stigmatised Squire is notorious from every essay that appears in it, as they teem with doctrines subversive of our civil and religious liberties. This ill-featured Janus assumes different signatures to blacken the most reputable characters, and by chicane and sophistry, endeavours to ridicule and pervert the obvious meaning of those productions that breathe the genuine spirit of pure liberty, and which were wrote with an intention to open our eyes to view the chains which our venal senate were harnessing us with. The Squire is alarmed at your advertisement, and is using all the villanous arts, of which he is so complete a master, to find out the proprietors, in hopes to win them to his purpose by his wiles, though I am confident they are above his reach, and despise the wretch; yet, from his known subtlety, and the various means he makes use of to accomplish his ends, I beg leave to submit to the gentlemen proprietors that they cannot stand too much on their guard against him: witness his intimacy with A——y G——l, S——y E——n, Mr. F——r, &c., &c. It is unnecessary to mention his character, as it is so universally established; but, perhaps, gentlemen are not informed that N——'s coffee house belongs to him, and that the profits arising from the gambling tables of that house partly supply him with money to support his villanies; and that he has, through his artifice, prevailed upon the different sh—ffs not to interrupt him in the

enjoyment of those tables, which amount annually to £500 and upwards. If he is not personally acquainted with them, and that they are proof against his attacks, he will endeavour to cultivate an acquaintance with some of their friends, to prevail on them to omit that essential part of their duty (abolishing of gambling-houses). From others he buys wines, &c., which is sold to the prisoners in the B——k D——g, and N—g—te, by his father-in-law. From N—g—te flows another source of his supplies. Being thus possessed of a profusion of money, and a newspaper at his devotion, he declares that there is nothing he undertakes but he will accomplish.

"I am, Sir,

"Your very sincere friend,

"PHILOPAS."

From the "General Evening Post" of May 1st, 1781:

"The Right Hon. William E——n wants the poor quondam 'Guatimozin,' Sir Boiled Fish, Francis Sham, Esq., &c., &c., &c., to assist him in *reprobating* court measures, and *exploding* the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance in that truly *patriotic* and *chaste* vehicle of intelligence, the 'Freeman's Journal.'"

From the "General Evening Post," May 1st, 1781:

"Wanted, a number of skilful pamphlet writers, to work for Government; they shall be well paid, and

supplied with pen, ink, paper, and all other necessary materials. Proposals to be received by the Rt. Hon. Francis Sham, Esq., principal agent, at his apartments in Dublin Castle; at his printing office, at the back of Blind Quay, and at Harcourt Street.

"N.B. Writers from the popular party will be most acceptable."

From the "General Evening Post" of May 3rd, 1781:

"TO BELINDA.

"Grattan shall quit the patriotic cause,
And learned Yelverton disgrace the laws;
Our venal boroughs uncorrupt commence,
And fops, unlettered, borrow plans from sense.
Sir Boyle neglect the subtle laws of chance,
Vincent forget the movements of her dance;
Dinwidie desist with mystery to sport,
And Honour fix her residence at court;
The exchange detest the golden frauds of trade,
And piety be learnt at masquerade;
Magee's three papers and lottery schemes succeed,
And pensioned courtiers for Irene bleed;
Even truth shall lie, nay, knotted oaks shall move,
When I perfidious to Belinda prove."

From the "General Evening Post" of May 8th, 1781:

"That the aforesaid doctor (Jebb) was formerly an active partisan for popular measures, and made a great noise, both by his pamphlets and talking in coffee-houses and private companies; and that, since his change of principles, he has been equally voluminous and noisy in the service of Government; so that his conversion must be considered as a considerable acquisition.

"That your Memorialist has contracted an intimacy with the noted Frank Sham, who is the conductor of a newspaper, and entirely reconciled him, the said Frank, to the lending of his countenance to the administration.

"That the said Frank has been induced, as well by his private affection for the person and character of your Memorialist, as by the pressing solicitations of him, the underwritten, to take Mr. Secretary E——n and Lord C——e under his protection; and to abuse those pests of all administration, the patriots—otherwise called *misguided men*—otherwise called *demagogues*—to the great emolument and delight of his Majesty's Government in Ireland."

The "Public Register, or the Freeman's Journal," for September 11th, 1783, was published and printed by Forbes Ross, No. 4, Crane Lane. The price was then twopence the publication, the dimensions eighteen inches long by twelve in width. The tone of the paper was still *apparently* nationalist and patriotic. In the number above specified, there are letters addressed "to the Committee for conducting the Free Press" of the old stamp, *apparently*, of the days of Lucas. A writer of communications of this sort, under the signature of "Camillus," seemed very strongly impressed with the opinion that the measures of 1782 were not sufficient for the security of Irish legislative independence; that Mr. Grattan had, in point of fact, been deceived, and that no final settlement of that great question had been

made by England, or intended, *bona fide*, to have been made. This wily letter was exceedingly plausible; there was some truth in it, but no less actual hostility to Irish legislative independence. The evident object was to break down Grattan's popularity. And most assuredly the most vulnerable part of his public conduct was that which was seized on in this instance to break down his power and influence.

Many of the best friends of Ireland and the cause of 1782, were strongly impressed with the opinion that Grattan ought to have insisted on an express Act of renunciation of the right to bend Ireland by British Acts of Parliament, as demanded by Flood.

The reading of that letter alone might suffice to lead a man, well affected to Irish interests, previously, however conversant with the facts and salient points of that controversy, to the conclusion, most painful to be brought to, that it would have been better for Ireland if Henry Grattan had never been born, and that the short-lived glories of 1782, and the volunteers were a poor compensation for the calamities of 1798, and the crowning disaster of 1800.

The "Freeman's Journal" for January 2nd, 1787, No 61, was increased in size and price. Size, twenty by twelve, price twopence. The printer was Thomas Malone, the office of the paper, No. 4, Crane Lane.

In October, 1788 (Vol. XXVII.) the price had been raised to twopence, the stamp being then one penny. The tone and political character of the paper had been

re-modelled. No more abuse of the administration of the Viceroy and his supporters was to be found in the columns of the "Freeman's Journal."

In 1788 there was no vigour, national spirit, manliness of style or tone in it. It had passed into the hands of a villain, and it was owned and used by him for the vilest purposes.

A great change had come over the spirit, tone, the form and price of the "Freeman's Journal." "The Committee for conducting the Free Press," that invisible body of *mythical* existence, formerly represented by the three Dublin traders, somewhat of the legendary kind of "The Three Tailors of Tooley Street," were no longer troubled with flaming letters of patriots, abounding in furious tirades against the Viceroy and his administration. A new proprietary and management had introduced a new policy. The altered views of politics and affairs of State were quite discernible in the new, uncertain, hesitating tone of the leading articles. Patriotism was evidently not one of the infirmities of the noble minds of the new proprietary.

The writers under them appear to have written to order the dull, indistinct, two-faced disquisitions on all public events, which were intended to do anything but enlighten or improve public opinion. If there was any policy discernible in the writing of the "Freeman's Journal" from 1718, the main drift of it would seem to be, to perplex, mystify, and bewilder its readers.

The doubtful phrases and confused sentences of the

Higgins newspapers became like the broken notes of the quavering trumpeter's blasts that were given on the walls of Jericho.

Truly, the readers of the "Freeman" might say, as was said of old, of the indistinct utterances of martial instruments—"For if the trumpet shall give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for the battle? So likewise you, unless you utter by the tongue plain speech, how shall it be known what is said? For you shall be as speaking unto the air." *

But in course of time even the uncertain sound of that organ of Irish public opinion ceased to be given at all. Irish intelligence dropped apparently unnoticed and "accidentally (as it were) on purpose" out of the "Journal," and its place was supplied with English and foreign news, supplied wholesale by the London newspapers.

The Government, moreover, had then recently got a hook in the jaws of the Irish press leviathan—they had imposed a tax of one penny on each newspaper. This led to an addition of one penny to the price of each paper.

The new office and printing establishment of the proprietor in 1788 was at No. 4, Crane Lane, rear of Parliament Street—the new printer was Mr. W. Malone.

From October, 1789, the printer and publisher of the "Freeman's Journal" was F. Ross, and the office No. 16, Trinity Street.

* 1 Cor. xiv., 8, 9.

The Higgins' beau ideal of public virtues in rulers, and notion of the exalted duties of public instructors towards viceroys and their subordinate functionaries are set forth in a leading article, purporting to be a letter to the "Freeman's Journal" for October 25th, 1788.

The writer states that the most remarkable characteristic of the Marquis of Buckingham, then viceroy, was "a laudable pride," which preserved him from "an ignoble familiarity" with individuals who might be intriguing schemers, or preferment hunters. The Marquis of Buckingham's great merit was "he sought applause only from acts of virtue and public utility." In fine, "To the Marquis of Buckingham truth and integrity hold up the mirror."

Shade of Lucas, and all ye shades of the Brutuses, Catos, Hampdens, &c., &c., &c. of the "Freeman's Journal," from its origin to a then recent period, could the altered tone of the organ of your opinions, the adulation of rulers and viceroys, have reached your ears, how great would be your astonishment!

A traitor journal, called the "Volunteer Evening Post," purporting to be an advocate of the Volunteer Association, and Irish Independence; but really set up at the expense of the English Government, entirely under English management and control, made its first appearance the 11th of November, 1783. From the early part of that year the regime of corruption in the press and in the Parliament became particularly conspicuous, and especially so in the columns of the "Freeman's Journal," which had previously been such a flaming patriotic

journal in its politics. Its subsequent career was calculated to bewilder, to deceive public opinion, and to make a *burla* of public principle. This was particularly obvious from the time of its being printed and published at No. 4, Crane Lane, in 1783, on the premises of Mr. Francis Higgins.

In the "Freeman's Journal" for June 23rd, 1791, we find a notable change, not only in the politics of the paper, but in the character of the advertisements. The legitimate advertisements connected with trade are reduced to nearly one half the number and amount of space of a few years previously; but the falling off in the mercantile advertisements is more than compensated by a new class of advertisements in the "Freeman," *that of Government Proclamations.*

For the purpose of showing the machinery of corruption, the delicate way of bribing newspaper proprietors, and dispensing the fund of £5,000 a year then available for that purpose, I insert an official document of importance; an entry in the account of payments made to the "Dublin Gazette," in 1783-4, now preserved in the archives of the Inland Revenue Offices, in the Dublin Custom House; for which I am indebted to the head of that department:—

"Concordatum

"*For Quarter to Christmas in* 1784.

"Paid to Timothy Dyton, of the 'Dublin Gazette,' £1250 sterling, in full of his account of Dublin proclamations and advertisements published in his Gazette, and

in full discharge of other disbursements by him to other printers for publishing in their newspapers proclamations and advertisements for services of Government."

For all Irish purposes, except the pecuniary ones of Mr. Francis Higgins, the "Freeman's Journal" for the year 1791 might as well have been printed and published in Sierra Leone, or any other British dependency on the shores of Africa as in the city of Dublin.

Whenever Irish public affairs were adverted to at all it was in the way of eulogy of the powers that be, and abuse of their opponents

The place of printing and publishing, No. 16, Trinity Street, corner of Dame Street, continued so to be to the period of Higgins' death, in 1802. In December of that year it was no longer printed and published by F. Ross; but printed for the then proprietor by Mr. Harvey. The "Freeman" was then a tri-weekly paper; the price was fourpence.

From the time that Higgins became connected with the "Freeman's Journal," the late organ of Lucas, and the Irish party in opposition to the Irish administration, and to English influence in the Parliament, he occasionally played the part of a red-hot patriot. The political part of the paper, for some time, was professedly conducted by a committee of "patriots," as in the time of Lucas, called "The Committee of the Free Press;" and the managers of the paper, by whom the leaders were written, in the form of letters addressed "To the Committee for con-

ducting the Free Press," usually signed those communications—"Molyneux," "Lucas," "Philo-Lucas," "Aristides," "Brutus," "Hibernicus," "Old Ireland," "Philanthropos," "Justice," "Old Connaught," "Milesian," "Irishman," "Clarendon," "Caius Marcius," "Æmilius," "A Citizen," "A Liberty Manufacturer," &c., &c., &c.

In the file of the "Freeman's Journal" of the year 1789, when the war was carried on between Magee and Higgins, the connection of the latter with the Government was established, beyond doubt, by the proceedings that took place in the King's Bench, and other courts of law (as subsequently by the debates in the House of Commons). I find all the signatures above-mentioned to articles professing patriotic principles, love of liberty, and devoted attachment to parliamentary independence. But with these professed sentiments, covert views of hostility to them are very discernible in all, without exception. This is the case particulary in the numerous letters addressed to "Little Harry," or to "Mr. Grattan." In them we find the most virulent abuse of "The Man of 1782" that ever was heaped on him, grounded on the insufficiency of the guarantees he consented to accept from the English Government for the permanent security of Irish Parliamentary Independence. For Grattan's shortcomings in 1782 he is branded as a traitor to his country, as a venal apostate who had sold his principles, and his country's cause, for £50,000. And, strange to say, this is done in the columns of the

dullest and most profligate journal of its times—in the columns of the "Freeman's Journal" of 1789—in numerous articles and communications, especially bearing the signatures "Honestus," "Æmilius," "Caius Marcius," and "Old Ireland," &c. In them we find the most damaging documentary evidence, skilfully collected and set forth from the journals of the Irish House of Commons, and the authorised reports of the debates in that house in 1782, and the published reports of the proceedings of the convention of volunteers of that period, that ever has been produced and arrayed against Grattan's character for statesmanship, foresight, and sagacity. Some of these letters might have been written by Flood. Portions of those letters bearing the signature of "Clarendon" might be ascribed to Grattan's rival, without disparagement to his great ability. The whole and sole avowed motive for these formidable assaults on Grattan's character, as a statesman, a patriot, and an honest man, is the injury inflicted on Ireland by the inadequacy of the means adopted for the security of Irish Parliamentary Independence. The patriot Grattan did not go far enough, in 1782, for the "Freeman's Journal" patriots of 1789; and yet the latter vehement assertors of Irish Constitutional Rights and Parliamentary Privileges, all the time they were tearing Grattan's patriotism and purity to pieces, were stabbing covertly at those rights and privileges, stealthily and astutely endeavouring to disunite the independent party, to detach the people from them, and to bring the state

of things established in 1782 into discredit and distrust.

Here, then, we have ample evidence of the hypocrisy and perfidy that were the leading characteristics of Higgins' journal. These, indeed, were the characteristics of it throughout the whole of Higgins' connection with it. In his early career in that journal he was a disciple of the old school of Molyneux; a little later the mantle of Lucas had fallen on his shoulders. In 1789 he was a defender of Irish Independence from the arch impostor of 1782, "the mercenary apostate Grattan," who sold his country, as his scribes asserted, for £50,000. From 1791 to 1798 the hypocrisy and perfidy of the "Freeman's Journal's" proprietor had assumed a new shape. Magee had demolished his pretensions to patriotism, consisting in professions of veneration for the principles of Molyneux and Lucas. He figured in the new *rôle* of a man of no party; he took law and order, and morality and religion under his holy keeping. He gave a generous disinterested support to any viceroy or administration for the time being; but while he defended their acts, he never ceased to consult the material interests *of his country* in so doing.

From 1798 to 1801 he was an advocate of the Union, because there was no other means of saving the country from such men as Grattan and the Ponsonbys, or saving the Catholics from the Presbyterians, and other intolerant sectaries. He was a true friend of their claims, moderately urged, and brought forward at a proper time.

But the connection of the "Freeman's Journal" with the Castle, the emoluments derived from all the Government advertisements in the "Freeman," hampered Higgins' toleration, and interfered more or less with his consistency. In the "Freeman" of one day Catholic Emancipation would be advocated; in the "Freeman" of the next day the Orange Institution would be defended and extolled; and in the same paper the religion of Roman Catholics has been spoken of with respect, and the inmates of a particular nunnery in Drogheda have been described in terms shocking to decency, and revolting to the feelings of every Roman Catholic.

Higgins, in politics, in religion, in friendship, in all his pursuits, was everything by turns, and nothing long. In hypocrisy and perfidy alone he was always consistent and persistent: he was always—Higgins.

The daily provender of political literature set before that part of the public who patronised the "Freeman's Journal" was either nauseous in the extreme, fulsome praise of patrons, or bitter (and of the worst kind of bitterness), virulent, and truculent abuse of all those who were accounted patriots.

There was little talent in the "Freeman's Journal" to lighten up its baseness; no wit to enliven its advocacy of everything that was corrupt and vicious, and of every person who was vile and venal. In the "Freeman" everything was prostituted in the service of its employers that could be sold—except talent; that was a commodity with which Mr. Higgins was too slenderly provided to

spare any, except for the concoction and execution of scheming projects, the villany of which was of a private nature.

His wretched journal was *une boutique de verbiage;* a mere word shop of ribaldry and eulogy, where the *fripon* of the press exposed for sale his *gros paquets de toile verte et rouge—habits de drap tout unis—habits de velours un peu passès.*

The most remarkable thing in the management of the "Freeman's Journal," *i. e.*, of Mr. Francis Higgins, is the utter want of principle which characterised its politics and polemics. These, as represented by Higgins, were wholly independent of any opinions formed of the truth or falsehood, justice or injustice, of any political or religious opinions or tenets. He talked in "King Cambyses' vein" in his journal of honour, honesty, virtue, religion, morals, loyalty, as if Divine Providence had singled him out for the special advocacy of those interests, and all other organs of public opinions in Ireland had abandoned their mission, and it was left to him alone to fight their battles in the "Freeman's Journal."

Knowing the man's character as we now know it, the impudence and audacity of the mercenary journalist appear to us astonishing; but how much more astounding is it that the Government, to whom the infamy of his life must have been known officially, from the criminal records of the country, should have singled him out for the advocacy of their measures; should have identified

the interests of the State with those of a convicted felon; should take that felon under their protection and patronage; make him the exponent of their imperial views and policy; should condescend to participate in his ignominious acts, his outrageous calumnies on the Whig leaders, his foul assaults on female reputation, his coarse, vulgar, obscene satires on the noblest persons in the land; and to consider that the British Constitution required for its support the services of a corrupt press, conducted by an adventurer so utterly devoid of principle, character, conscience, education, or intellectual powers, status in society, or legitimate connection with any party in the State as Francis Higgins. What are we to think of the system of government which required such an agent for its defence? What feelings of disgust and indignation should it not excite in the mind of every upright, thinking Englishman of every party, to have the conviction forced on him that the British Constitution has been perverted in Ireland to the vilest uses; has been made a sophism and a delusion; that the authority of the sovereign has been shamefully abused; that government has been administered in a manner calculated to bring the Constitution into disrepute? If it has been rendered odious by being made an organised hypocrisy, a system of corruption, the working of which has been assigned to jobbers and undertakers in high places, to mercenary journalists, truculent proprietors of newspapers, spies and informers connected with the press, sham loyalists, sham patriots, sham gentlemen, sham squires of any category

of schemers, surely it will be felt by the people of England that a great debt of justice is due to Ireland; that ample amends remain to be made to the people of that country for all the injuries done to her interests by bad government in former times: by ruling a people for a faction, by making such persons as Mr. Francis Higgins and John Giffard governmental agents, newspaper terrorists, state protected denouncers of their fellow-citizens, defenders of Orangemen, the pensmen of a faction that has long been the bane of Ireland, and that has done, and is doing more mischief to England than any foreign enemies have inflicted on her for upwards of sixty years.

In confirmation of the opinions I have expressed of the low, grovelling, infamous character of the Government scribe and champion, Mr. F. Higgins, a few passages from his compositions are here given.

In the "Freeman's Journal" of January 17th, 1789, we find some verses, from which we extract the following lines:—

"ADVICE TO THE AMOROUS.

"Shepherds, of your hearts beware,
Ere you love a *scornful fair;*
Though *her eyes* like stars are bright,
Fix on no other charms your sight:
Ne'er let one your bosom tease;
Ev'ry nymph has charms to please." . . .

This is a particularly favourable specimen of the amatory poetry of the "Freeman's Journal." Generally speaking, Higgins' muse had more of dirt than deity in her inspirations. The poetical effusions that appeared

in the "Freeman," for the most part, were grossly obscene; they were not only immoral, but singularly open and scandalous in their immorality. Whether Higgins kept a poet to do the lyrics of the "Freeman" we are not informed, but the stamp of Higgins' own animal instincts were so strongly impressed on the poetry of the "Freeman" that we are led to imagine they must either have been written by him, or for him by some scribe intimately acquainted with his vicious tastes, and desirous of pandering to them.

In the "Freeman's Journal" of February 17th, 1789, we find the following:—

"A certain *pulpit libeller* who, it is thought, can hold forth with *peculiar force* on a *few seductions* that took place at Chelsea, Galway, &c., and on which hang some curious tales for future exhibition, wriggled himself, Friday last, into the House of Lords, with all that effrontery that marks his character. But the buzz of ————'*pulpit libeller*,' saluting his ear, he shrunk out of the House under apparent confusion and trepidation."

The "certain pulpit libeller" above referred to was the celebrated Dean Kirwan, and the cause of the audacious attack in the "Freeman" on that eminent preacher for the legitimate exercise of his clerical function in the pulpit, on preaching a sermon against seduction, the reader will find set forth in the "Dublin Evening Post" in several articles, and reference to this outrageous attack on Dean Kirwan, at the same period.

What hurt the delicate feelings, and startled the susceptibilities of Mr. Higgins was, that the sermon on seduction followed hard upon his successful efforts to save from the gallows a woman named Llewellyn, of infamous notoriety, under the patronage and in the employment, on the particular occasion of the crime for which she was capitally convicted, of Lord Carhampton, as the publications of the time plainly give us to understand.

In the "Freeman's Journal," February 26th, 1789, we find the following:—

"*For the 'Freeman's Journal.'*

"TO LITTLE HARRY.

"LETTER XI.

"'Unde laboris
Plus haurire mali est, quam ex re decerpere fluctus.'
"HOR. SAT.—LIB. 1.

"SIR,

"Your present conduct is a counterpart of that which GREAT HARRY completely dissected, and which so forcibly marked your character in the *Portland Administration;* each distinguished for absurd precipitancy, and each demonstrating, according to my motto, that your services are far more *injurious* than of *advantage* to your country. You need, Sir, a *chief remembrancer*, to record and exhibit your *consistent virtues*, as occasions require. That task be mine, and it shall be faithfully executed."

In the "Freeman's Journal," February 28th, 1789, we find the following:—

"A certain orator is said to have expressed himself, a day or two since, to the following purport in a select company—'I expect to be condemned by the first lawyers in England, as well as in this country; but, what then? I'll teach them all that my constitutional law is better than all the *statutable* law in the two kingdoms, and let me see who will gainsay it. *Volunteer arms* are not rusty yet; no—no,—for though I abused the volunteers now and then, when the *case required*, they are all convinced, notwithstanding, that I am as staunch a patriot *as ever;* and would back me, I am sure, to the tune of another £50,000.' . . .

"We lay before our readers an extract from the journal of a gentleman who is now making a tour in this kingdom, on the plan of the philanthrophic Mr. Howard.

"PARLIAMENT HOSPITAL.

"A noble pile of building in College Green, erected in the year 1731. It is calculated to hold just 300 patients. When I visited it about three weeks ago, there were upwards of 200 in it."

In the "Freeman's Journal" of March 5th, 1789, we find the following:—

"A CARD.

"The principal members of the Round Robin Association present their compliments to Mr. Grattan, and beg

leave to congratulate him on the advantage he enjoys over the rest of their body, in having realised a competency from the public beyond the reach of all changes and fluctuations of party; at the same time they hope it may not induce him to look with indifference upon the embarrassing situation into which his late violent measures have reduced them, and beg to know what compensation he is able or inclined to make to them, should they lose their present employments, or forfeit their claims to future favour. Will he in such case allow them to go shares with him in the *simple* profits of his speculation during the government of his *friend* the Duke of Portland? Or, if not, how can he answer it to his conscience to seduce so many unfortunate men into a disgraceful combination, which may bring ruin upon them, while he alone is secure from the ill consequences?"

In the "Freeman's Journal" of March 7th, 1789, we find the following:—

"*For the 'Freeman's Journal.'*

"TO LITTLE HARRY.

"LETTER XII.

"'Quid non mortalia pectora cogis
Auri sacra fames?'

"In my last address I constituted myself your Chief Remembrancer, and, by the *Lord Harry*, I'll discharge my duty. But you wax warm, sir; you are angry, and

that gives a literary antagonist too great an advantage over you. . . .

"Candour, however, induces an acknowledgment that the present period is most *provoking*, and that you are more than man if your nerves be not exceedingly *irritated*. Disappointments have certainly been great and trying. First, a coronet eluding your grasp; and now converted, not into Macbeth's unsubstantial dagger but into a real *læthalis arundo* to all your hopes of personal dignity. . . .

"But prithee, Harry, lay aside the vizard of pretended *patriotism*, and no more insult the public understanding with the ridiculous idea that when you received the £50,000 it was the *gift* of the people and the constitution of

"OLD IRELAND."

In the "Freeman's Journal" of March 7th, 1798-9 we find the following:—

"It is with astonishment we hear that the fidelity of our journal has lately been much the subject of conversation respecting a bill, commonly called the Renunciation Bill, drawn up, brought forward, and supported by Mr. Grenville, by which the exclusive rights of the Parliament and Courts of Ireland, in matters of legislation and judicature, were solemnly recognised and established by British laws. It is become necessary to remind the public that the wretched flimsy measure brought forward by Mr. Grattan had been instantly reprobated in

Parliament by Mr. Flood, who, supported by the high legal authority of Sir Samuel Bradstreet, then Recorder of Dublin, predicted the mischief which would arise from it, and warned our countrymen against a system insecure, inadequate, and supported not by legal argument or political wisdom, but by the arrogance which at first formed it, and by the confidence which Ireland too rashly reposed in Mr. Grattan. . . .

"It is on this ground that we state that Mr. Grattan received £50,000 from the public, having left that measure insecure and incomplete, which Mr. Grenville secured and completed to the people of this kingdom, and by so doing has entitled himself to the gratitude, esteem, and reward of Ireland.

"We have now troubled the public, to whom we are so much indebted, too long on such a subject; but our character is as dear to us as that of the most insolent and arrogant man in Ireland can be to him; and if any person shall presume to say that in the statement of these facts and dates we are liars, to that person (provided he is not protected by the law of the land, by parliamentary privileges, or by his own insignificance) we retort his accusation, though in less exceptionable language, and pronounce him an utterer of falsehood.

"The *ignis fatuus* of opposition, though of a *dwarfish* body, has lit up the blaze of discord, and bewildered a number of the most worthy members of the community into quagmires, and dangerous situations, from which, at great peril of imminent ruin, many have narrowly escaped."

In the "Freeman's Journal," March 10th, 1789, we find, in a letter bearing the signature "Monitor," the following paragraphs:—

"Permit me to point out a *document* (not to you, for you probably know it perfectly well, but to your Chief Remembrancer, who ought to have known it better) drawn from an authority on which I trust you will not chuse to vent any of your approbrious terms, for it is not a *newspaper* to which you have such an antipathy, but it is the *Journals* of the *House* of *Commons;* but in order to set this document in a proper point of view, and give it full force, it is necessary to place it between your two speeches on the 11th and 14th of June, 1782.

"On June the 11th you said that 'from what fell from Mr. Fitzpatrick, viz.: that it might be dangerous to require the Great Seal of Great Britain to be put to a Renunciation, it struck you more forcibly that the measure was necessary;' and in the course of your speech you said 'that you would make a motion for that purpose.'

"In Vol. XXI. of the 'Journals of the House of Commons,' p. 42, there is the following remarkable entry, in perusing which it should be remembered that it is the established practice to date king's letters on the day on which the recommendations for them are signed in this country.

"'June 13th, 1782. Beauchamp Bagenel, David Latouche, and Peter Metge, Esqrs., the trustees nomi-

nated and appointed by Henry Grattan, Esq., to be laid out in the purchase of lands in his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland, to be settled on the said Henry Grattan and his heirs in testimony of gratitude of this nation, for his eminent and unequalled services to this kingdom. Warrant 22nd July, 1782, £50,000.'

"Mark the Conclusion:

"On June 14th, being the day following, instead of repeating your former declarations, or of making the motion you had promised, you said 'That by the repeal of the 6th George I. the claim of legislation was done away,' &c., and 'that you neither then did, nor would ever speak as the friend of administration further than they deserved; but you had a reliance on the men then in power," &c.

In the "Freeman's Journal," March 28th, 1789, we find the following paragraphs in a letter signed "Clarendon":—

"Nobly employed as his Excellency was found in rooting out every knave from employment, and to use the idea of holy writ in tracing the footsteps of the priests of 'Bel and the Dragon,' in the ashes which led to an ample conviction of their roguery. It was not to be expected that Mr. G——n, the little *greedy sponge*, which had itself artfully soaked up the public countenance, would have stept out of the common road of Parliamentary business to make an attack, most evidently fraught with long meditated malice, against a personage whose superior

station denied his making any other return but contempt.

"But this is the man to whom statues were to be erected until he smelt out an agreeable reward for being more garrulous than *wise* in the service or his country. He felt an inward conviction that the *aurum potabile* could sit better on his stomach than the best production of the statuary.

"Harry was no stone eater; and he also had the sagacity to recollect that if he was ever complimented with *bronze*, it was possible this precious transcript of the *saviour of his country* might undergo a similar fate to that of old General Blakeney, which was stolen by tinkers from the Mall, and coined into counterfeit halfpence."

In the "Freeman's Journal," March 31st, 1789, we find the following:—

"This journal has been accused of libelling public character and private reputation; but to the many publications which appeared in the 'Dublin Evening Post,' prior to the amendment of the Stamp Act, and the increase of stamp duties, may the Irish press principally attribute those heavy burdens under which it at present exists. The licentious columns of that print are not only levelled at the most able, exalted, and virtuous characters in the Senate, but basely directed to wound domestic peace, by assailing the reputation of women of the first rank, amiable manners, and distinguished beauty.

Among the members of the upper House of Parliament, the Duke of Leinster, the upright and venerable Lifford, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Archbishop of Cashel, the Lords Hilsborough, Earlsfort, Tyrone, Carhampton, Bellamont, Valentia, Mountmorres, and other highly respectable and dignified characters have been maligned, traduced, aspersed in this *chaste* vehicle. And let it be remembered that among the Commons, the present speaker, Sir John Parnel, Mr. Connolly, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Beresford, Sir H. Langrishe, Mr. Bush, Mr. Annesley, the Attorney-General, Solicitor-General, Prime-Serjeant, Mr. Daly, Mr. Conyngham, Sir J. Blaquiere, Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Ogle, &c., have, at various intervals, become the objects of that reprehensible malevolence."

In the "Freeman's Journal," April 2nd, 1789, we find the following:—

"Mr. Higgins, having seen a most malicious and unprovoked attack upon him in the "Dublin Evening Post" of Thursday last, printed by J. Magee, and a continuation of similar wanton abuse in the same paper of the succeeding Saturday, feels it necessary to inform the public that Mr. Higgins' name is not registered in the Stamp Office as the Editor of the "Freeman's Journal;" and though his name may appear at that office, yet that of another person is there registered as a responsible editor.

"Had Mr. Magee restrained the authors of the paragraphs in his paper within the bounds of that resentment

which newspaper writers sometimes unwarrantably assume against their opponents, and forborne animadverting on Mr. Higgins in his professional line as an attorney, silence and contempt would have been the utmost notice their powers could have purchased from him; but as the false and unbecoming insinuations thrown out respecting Mr. Higgins having conducted prosecutions which are still in progress, seem to demand some notice, he will only say that he is advised that his best answer will be an application for redress to the courts where they yet remain undecided; and that their determination will also best convince the public of the fairness and propriety of his practice.

"Stephen's Green,
"March 30th, 1789."

In the Freeman's Journal," April 16th, 1789, we find the following:—

"By LITTLE HARRY.

"I frisk and I skip; I spout and I sputter,
And strut, with success, like a crow in a gutter;
But left in the lurch, as now is the case;
All gloomy my soul, and all haggard my face;
To ambition a slave, to my feelings a prey—
'Sweet Robin, sweet Robin,' O chaunt a fresh lay:
Sing conscience to sleep, and bid all friends be steady,
And nought ere so base but to sign we'll be ready.

"Mirror."

In the "Freeman's Journal," April 21st, 1789, we find the following:—

"*Catalogue of portraits, statues, busts, bas-reliefs, engraved stones, prints, &c., &c., in the Irish Gallery at Carleton House:*

1. "D—— of L——, a bust in *lignum vitæ*, sculptured by Dunderhead.

2. "Mr. G—t—n, an entire figure in Portland stone, by Van Briben, Oberyssell, in Holland.

3. "Earl of Ch—l—t, a whole length portrait printed in distemper, by that celebrated female artist, Tofana da Napoli.

4. "Mr. St—w—t, of Killymoon, a figure in petrified starch, by Stiffen Van Fustianberg.

5. "Mr. W. B. P—n—y, a figure roughly hewn out of a block of Kilkenny marble.

6. "Mr. G. P—n—y, a bust in bronze, hollow within. . . .

15. "Earl of M—ra, a cameo, full face, in carbuncle, by Adrien Stretching Van Longbow, of Lieden."

In the "Freeman's Journal," April 25th, 1789, we find the following in a letter (to the Duke of Leinster) signed "Verax."

"Insignificant as your Grace's general character has been, you ought, on former occasions, to have had the satisfaction of knowing that such a state of insignificance was its best protection, and that without arriving at the pleasure of deserving praise, you were at least exempted from the pain of incurring censure. As often as you

attempted to figure in the House of Lords, from your total want of talents and information, you were merely an object of melancholy *pity* to your friends; and in the last year, when the Premier Peer of Ireland solicited and obtained an inferior appointment in the Four Courts, it did not draw down upon him anything more than the contempt of the public. . . .

"When I state to your Grace that, to be a *patriot*, a man should be at least gifted with a head to discern, and a heart to feel the interests of his country, I do but state the utter impossibility of your ever attaining that title."

In the "Freeman's Journal," June 27th, 1789, we find the following:—

"To the Committee for Conducting the Free Press.

"Transports sent away some time since have contrived to return; and not only the notorious Molloy (an old and desperate robber) is now at large in this city, but numerous other transports, who had the command of money to bribe their escape, form at this very time part of the numerous gangs who, on every side, commit depredations in all the avenues of the capital. . . .

"Whippings and confinement are the resource of that great school—the *army*. Why not adopt the same in concerns of the civil community, and increase our population by making culprits amenable to the laws at

home? Let our judges try the experiment, and the event will prove that five hundred or more lashes will prove a better remedy than transportation.

"FIELDING."

In the "Freeman's Journal," July 18th, 1789, we find the following:

"In the curious pamphlet which Magee published the beginning of last year in England, when he was kicked, cuffed, pulled by the nose, &c., &c., on the Royal Exchange of London, for grossly libelling the general mass of British stock-brokers, he boasted to the public as he hath lately done—

"'That his ancestors bled on the walls of Derry.'

"Now, most unopportunely for this precious piece of parade, within a few weeks after his pamphlet appeared, the newspapers of this country announced—

"'That three men of the name of Magee were hanged at Derry, for housebreaking.'

"For the truth of this fact, the record of last Spring Assizes twelvemonth for Derry, and the Sheriff's Calendar of executions at that city are appealed to.

"Will Magee now condescend to tell us, from his itch as above mentioned, to play upon *names*, how the Mageenite heraldry stands, in order that all his relations in the north, as well as all his independent, subscribing, volunteering friends in Dublin, may be able to form an adequate judgment—

"Whether his 'ancestors who bled by the sword on

walls of Derry, in 1690, were the ancestors of the Magee's who "*sluiced their veins*" by the halter on the gallows of Derry, in the Spring of the year 1788.'"

In the "Freeman's Journal," July 21st, 1779, we find the following:

"One would imagine that Charles Churchill had the ecclesiastical ruffian in his eye who has assisted the 'Dublin Evening Post' for the last five months in the Christian occupation of libelling, when he drew the following (clerical) character. The extract from Churchill's lines is descriptive of the clergyman—

> "'Who looks as he the Lord's rich vineyard trod.
> And by his garb appears a man of God?
> Trust not to looks, nor credit outward show,
> The villain lurks beneath the cassocked beau.'"

So we find Francis Higgins, the staunch defender of Church and State, could fall foul of Protestant divines, and some, too, of great eminence, such as Dean Kirwan, on previous occasion, when he thought he could escape detection in the "Freeman's Journal," beneath his various masks of loyalty, morality, respectability, and religion.

In the "Freeman's Journal" of July 21st, 1789. Magee's report of his recent trial and conviction in the King's Bench is impugned, because the latter never, previously to the trial, had applied for a Habeas Corpus; because he might have appeared at his trial if he had so applied; because he had no right, had he been present,

to object to a juror, unless for his not being in possession of a freehold of forty shillings; because when the jury returned their first verdict of "guilty of printing and publishing," although they did not do more, they did not add the word "only," as Magee reported in his journal.

Higgins did not succeed, however, in proving a single misrepresentation of an important fact in Magee's report, and he prudently declines to notice at all, the remarkable words addressed by one of the jurors to the bench, rebuking the proceedings adopted for the prosecution.

In the "Freeman's Journal" of July 23rd, 1789, we have a remarkable instance of the daring hypocrisy and effrontery of Higgins, in an article in which he undertakes the defence against the "Evening Post," of "their sacred Majesties, George, and Charlotte, of the Duchess of Rutland, and a hecatomb of female victims—the whole body of dignified clergy, the judges, the magistrates, and several private characters. Even his Grace of Leinster, Mr. Connolly, and Mr. Grattan, have all been lacerated by this tribunal."

Again in the "Freeman's Journal" of November 3rd, we have the following *morçeau*, perfect in its kind, as illustrative of Higginism:

"He (Magee) may have a scribe under the signature of 'Philo Lucius,' to assert that Mr. Grattan has ever been libelled in this journal: yet is defied to prove that

that gentleman's private character has ever been assailed in it. He may fabricate lies upon lies, for us, against the Duchess Dowager of Leinster and other elevated characters, but is wholly unable to substantiate his charge."

In the "Freeman's Journal," July 25th, 1789, we find an obscene lampoon on his then ruined victim, Magee, headed:—

"Upon the impudent abuse of the word Irishman, by a being, whose base conduct would be a disgrace to any country."

In the "Freeman's Journal," July 30th, 1789, we find the following:

"We hear that a *gala* day is appointed for the flying stationers, at the Black Rock; it is reported that Mr. Molloy, a clerk at one of the banks, and the *little* hatter and hosier of Grafton Street are to perform the honours of the table—while Miss Gilbert obligingly condescends to regulate and distribute the desert,—the dirty Butler will also be employed in handing soap and water to the *merry, motley guests. Of this more anon.*"

In the "Freeman's Journal, August 1st, 1789, we find the following:—

"It is but an act of justice to Mr. Brennan, who was most grossly abused in Thursday's "Evening Post," publicly to declare that he is neither retained as a writer

on this paper, nor ever furnished any person concerned in this journal with any copy or manuscript belonging to the office of the said "Evening Post."

"As Dr. Houlton is determined to bring his libeller to the bar of justice, he humbly presumes to hope he shall not previously suffer in the public opinion from the many unprovoked and virulent attacks made on him for some time past in the "Dublin Evening Post." Respecting the false and malevolent outrage on his private character, Dr. H. doubts not of obtaining ample redress from the laws of his country. In regard to the gross and unjustifiable attack on his professional credit, he begs only to say that, at a proper time and place he will demonstrate he is no quack."

In the "Freeman's Journal," August 4th, 1789, we find the following:—

"The 'Dublin Evening Post' has, with unabating calumny and fabricated falsehood, continued to impose the most malevolent aspersions on private character. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that this species of invention appears in a paragraph published in that paper of Saturday last, charging that, after Charles Brennan had committed an act of alleged violence in the house of John Magee, on Thursday night preceding, he returned to the pit of the Theatre Royal, and informed Mr. Higgins of the outrage. The wretched paragrapher who fabricated such false assertions should be told that it will in due time, appear in a court of justice that Mr. Higgins

had not, directly or indirectly, any kind of knowledge, or intimation of such alleged transaction, nor any communication whatsoever with the person alluded to; and that the low and liberal invective endeavoured to be imposed upon a candid public must eventually recoil on the base libeller and fabricator of such falsehood."

In the "Freeman's Journal," September 5th, 1789, we find the following:—

"The Duke of Leinster he abused most scurrilously in a series of infamous letters signed 'Cromaboo,' and 'Justice.'

"Lord Charlemount, for acting at the Belfast Review like a man and a patriot, he branded in the most opprobrious manner 'Post' after 'Post.'

"Mr. Conolly, in the basest language, was not only calumniated, but a fictitious name was assigned him in the 'Dublin Evening Post,' as a term of reproach amongst the lowest orders.

"Mr. Grattan, in the most virulent series of letters that ever issued from the press, under the signature of 'Hampden Alter,' was branded by Magee an apostate to to his country, the unworthy object of the national bounty, and as a timid character that was afraid to meet a Flood. . . .

"Mr. Daly, a gentleman with a numerous and beautiful offspring, he has branded as a murderer, and yet he has never *intentionally done injury to man or mortal.* . . .

"Mr. Higgins he has branded as a murderer and a robber, and yet, intentionally, he never did injury to man or mortal. . . .

"Mr. Magan, one of the most respectable citizens of Dublin, he has branded as a black-leg, and yet, intentionally, he never did injury to man or mortal. . . .

"Dr. Houlton he has branded as a degraded blackguard and defrauder, yet, intentionally, he never did injury to man or mortal."

In the "Freeman's Journal," September 10th, 1789, Houlton writes to the editor:—

"The only connection I ever had with the 'Dublin Evening Post' commenced in the spring of 1782, and terminated in the summer of 1783, from which period to the present moment I never wrote a line for that paper, though repeated applications were made to me by a confidential person now in your employ, whom I know to be too honest a man to deny the fact.

"During the above connection it is not in your power to quote a passage from my letters, under any signature used by me, that ever reflected on the private reputation of any individual in society, whether in an elevated, middling, or subordinate rank of life. My writings were purely *political*, and confined within those bounds which separate a *justifiable freedom* from the *licentiousness* of the press. If, under the signature 'Hampden Alter,' I ventured to arraign the Parliamentary conduct of an eminent orator, yet did not those letters stain your

columns with any attempt to stab the private fame, much less the domestic peace of that very distinguished character."

In the "Freeman's Journal," September 24th, 1789, we find the following:

"It is an Herculean task, indeed, to refute the multiplied falsehoods of the 'Dublin Evening Post,' and the scavengers who bespatter character in that paper enter as earnestly upon their dirty jobs, as if they were paid for the work of truth, and that, too, in language disgraceful even to the low scurrility of shoe-boys. Of the kind, among numerous others, is an account published on Tuesday last in that paper of an account of a coursing of horses in Stephen's Green on the last Sabbath day, in order to prepare them for the races of Crumlin, and that no interruption was given to Mr. H., 'though it was snapping the fourth commandment on his nose.' Now the fact happens to be that the Green had been rented this last year by a Mr. Anderson, a butcher, who generally keeps horses for the petty races unlawfully held in the vicinity of Dublin; and this Mr. Anderson, on his own ground, thought proper to course his horses."

The *leniency* of Earl Carhampton is particularly extolled in the "Freeman," in the exercise of his military authority in the disturbed districts, throughout 1795. The conciliatory measures of Earl Camden,

especially from May of the same year, are also highly eulogized.

In the "Freeman" of May 20, 1796, we are told that Lord Carhampton, as Generalissimo of Munster, by his temperate management "has justly merited the blessings, not only of the present, but future generations."

In "Higgins' Journal" of October 8th, 1796, we find Ireland congratulated on the reappearance in arms in defence of the country "the illustrious Duke of Leinster, and the venerable Earl of Charlemount" at the head of yeomanry corps in their respective counties. The illustrious duke and earl, for many years previously, had been the subjects of his vulgar invective, and, subsequently, the Duchess of Leinster, had been spoken of in the "Freeman" in terms of gross ribaldry.

In "Higgins' Journal" of November 29th, 1796, we find the "Freeman's" clients—Camden, Cooke, and Co., are defended from the "base and most insidious insinuations propagated to impose on the public mind a belief that the outrages committed by the Orange boys in the north were partially winked at, to oppress the Catholics and divide the people."

The journal that had thus proclaimed itself the true friend of Roman Catholics, the first advocate of their claims, so far as might be consistent with the British constitution as in Church and State established, in a previous article, purporting to be a communicated letter to the "Freeman," which it endorses with the sanction

of authenticity, as coming "from a respectable gentleman at Drogheda:"

"Yesterday, the 8th, about half-past three, Father Duffy was arrested here upon information, and all his papers seized. His arrest has led to the development of most abominable circumstances. A new mode of swearing in United Irishmen has been discovered. This was by two sticks, placed on each other, to form a cross, which were contrived to be portable to carry about in the pocket. On searching the apartments of Father Duffy, near the Linen Hall, there was found in a pocket in his desk, a laboured complimentary epitaph to the late William Orr, and strange to tell, a large quantity of mercurial ointment, &c., &c., &c. Four letters of a most extraordinary nature were found also in a pocket in his desk, which discloses the cause of death of a mother abbess, Mrs. B——, which decency forbids us to mention, and of which the Rev. Father McD—— was liable to give the best account; but the affair was veiled at the instigation of the Rev. Mr. N——, a Roman Catholic clergyman.

"Other very extraordinary circumstances relative to a place of religious reception for young ladies have come to knowledge by this apprehension, but of so gross a nature that I must decline giving the particulars, which will transpire at a future day. Let it suffice to say they unveil a most abominable system of hypocrisy and vice."

It is revolting to one's feelings to have to recall such specimens of newspaper iniquity as the preceding one of the "Freeman's Journal;" but it is necessary, to show the brutality and grossness of Mr. Higgins in their true colours. I doubt if any other newspaper proprietor in Dublin, not excepting even John Giffard, would have given insertion to that infamous article which Higgins sends forth to the world as written by a respectable gentleman.

The "Freemen's Journal," a little later, commenced the new year with a very long and elaborate programme of its future course, and a statement of its past career in the cause of the British constitution, "never forgetting that the Irish Government consists of King, Lords, and Commons;" that the mission of the "Freeman's Journal" has been to support the laws and liberties of the country; to "beam a steady light on the events of the day, undiverted by partialities or local interests:

> "'Or in Religion's hallowed cause
> To hurl the shafts of reason, or to wield
> Those heavenly-tempered arms whose rapid force
> Arrests base falsehood in her impious course,
> And drives rebellious vice indignant from the field.'

"In the progress of the 'Freeman's Journal,' the British Constitution (continues Higgins) has been her cynosure, and never has she lost sight of so pure, so hallowed a guide; not catching at the pernicious novelties of opinion for support, she has pursued a steadfast and honest course. . . . The whole energies of the

"Freeman" would be, henceforth, as they had already been, devoted to the preservation of religion and morality, from the licentiousness of the press, and the delusions of lettered treason, and party politics, turned to the purposes of sedition."

In the preceding flights of Higgins' imagination, in the tropes and figures of the several passages, the cynosure, the battle for the laws and liberties of the country, the Higgins' eye beaming its steady lights on the events of the day; the hallowed cause of religion, in which the shafts of reason are hurled by the "Freeman's Journal," and the heavenly tempered arms are wielded with rapid force, arresting base falsehood in her impious course, and driving rebellious vice indignant from the field, we have ample evidence how the mind of Higgins could rise with the grandeur of the occasion, and his solemn prose could assume heroic shape, and merge into strains almost Homeric:—

"How is the branch of Apollo's own laurel shaken! how is the whole temple convulsed! Hence, avaunt, ye profane. Apollo himself approaches (in the shape of Higgins); and the sound of his steps in the threshold is propitious!"

On the 4th of January, 1798, Higgins put forth this pompous proclamation of his power and determination to uphold the interests of the British Constitution of religion and morality in Ireland. He had just done a little secret job at the Castle, by which he had earned

"a cool hundred," which was duly paid to him on the 13th of January, 1798. So much for the honour and honesty of the "Freeman's Journal" gentleman. One would think the power of impudence could go no farther; but the effrontery of Higgins was of that unblushing, audacious kind that the latest manifestation of its brazen insolence was always sure to be soon transcended by some other still later exhibition of its daring boldness.

One of the curiosities of the "Freeman's Journal" in 1798 was, its pretensions to advocacy of claims of Roman Catholics. In the manifesto published in the "Freeman" of the 4th of January of that year, of *the principles* (if I may be allowed to use the term) of that journal we find these words: —

"It should be remembered also that it was the first paper that took a disinterested and decided part on behalf of Roman Catholics," &c.

Yet, at the very time these pretensions were put forward, the "Freeman's Journal" was the zealous advocate of Orangeism, the defender of its outrages, and palliator of its most terrible excesses.

In the "Freeman" of January 6th, 1798, we find the professing advocate of toleration, affecting great indignation with an evening newspaper for speaking offensively of Roman Catholic rites and ceremonies, and applying to them the term "mummery." Higgins in this word and its application to sacred things and usages, discerns "a part of that infernal system which introduced French anarchy in the world," and he goes on to say,

"that to give the appellation of mummery to forms of Christian worship is manifestly an indication that the man who does this, must have lost all reverence for and sense of religion."

The most tolerant of men must have been this "Freeman's Journal" gentleman, who figured in the press, and on the rolls of Court, where attornies of the right sort in matters of religion, sworn in previously to 1793 are to be found, and must be reputed as members of the Church connected with the State.

In the course of a few days we find Mr. Higgins denouncing Whig traitors in disguise, who get up a factious cry of Catholic Emancipation. He asks—"what, in the name of Heaven, have Catholics to complain of? Have they not been emancipated?"

A week has not elapsed before the Roman Catholic religion is kindly acknowledged to be a form of Christianity of a very ancient date, to be venerated for its antiquity, and protected from outrageous insults, and the profanity especially of the proprietor of the "Dublin Evening Post."

The Roman Catholics of Ireland raise their three millions and a half of heads, and, thinking they have discovered a champion, exclaim in transports of exultation and gratitude—"He is found!" All hail, Frank Higgins—our chief hereafter!

But the cup of Catholic Emanicpation is soon dashed to the ground. Francis Higgins in another week comes out as strongly as ever in favour of Orangeism and all

measures for the promotion of the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland. The truth is, Francis Higgins believed in nothing but himself. Lamennais once said to me, speaking of Louis Napoleon, and rather testily replying to some observations of mine in reference to the career of the new Emperor—"*Que voulez vous, mon ami? cette homme la n'a pas le sentiment de bien ni de mal: il n'a pas que le sentiment de soi meme.*" Higgins loved nothing either, good or bad, except on account of its bearing on his own interest. The eternal *me* was the subject of all his thoughts—the object of all his love.

In the early part of 1789, Higgins made a declaration of his uniform advocacy of toleration. The "Freeman," he states, had invariably advocated Catholic Emancipation.

In the "Freeman's Journal" of April 4th, 1795, we find a long article, headed, "Popular Clamour," wherein it is observed:

"Catholic Emancipation is the cry from all quarters. . . . . Where (it is asked) in the name of common sense, are all their chains, fetters, proscriptions, and oppressions from which we are told that the three millions of Catholic subjects supplicate and demand emancipation? . . . . Are they able to point out any oppressions from which the proposed (Emancipation) Bill would relieve them?"

In the "Freeman" of April 9th, same year, we find the following paragraph:

"By a wise, loyal, and humble conduct, the Irish Catholic has climbed from the vale of adversity to the summit almost of political happiness."

On the happy day for Ireland that Lord Camden took his departure, June 23rd, 1798, a laudatory article appeared in the chief organ of his Government, extolling its rigours, and deprecating anything like conciliatory measures on the part of the successor of Lord Camden. Nothing more truculent and sanguinary ever appeared in the "Freeman's Journal," and that is saying a great deal. The object was plainly to deter the Marquis of Cornwallis from altering the policy, or discarding the ministers and agents of the reign of terror, and had nothing to do with any feeling of gratitude or respect for Lord Camden.

Higgin's fealty to his Castle patrons was of that base kind, which requires not only to be feed, but continually refreshed.

The motto for his article in the "Freeman" on the arrival of a new Viceroy, and the departure of his predecessor might have been thus rendered poetically:

> "Here loyalty waits on each Viceroy at landing,
> But has not a leg for departure at standing."

But on the present occasion the policy of the "Freeman" was not to cajole, but to frighten the in-coming Chief-governor into terms. And this policy, strange to say, at first appeared successful. Cornwallis, whose

feelings revolted at Camden's system of terrorism and its ruffianism in the press, affected for a while to be managed by the old undertakers and their organs. He arrived in Dublin June 23rd, 1798, and no sooner had entered on the duties of his office than he signed the death warrants of two brother barristers, gentlemen, highly connected, held in good repute, and greatly loved in their own domestic circles. John and Henry Sheares were hanged on July 14th, 1798. It had been better for the memory of Lord Cornwallis if they had been spared, or if the vengeance of the law—as the vengeance of Orangeism was called in Ireland—imperatively required a victim, had Lord Cornwallis extended mercy to the elder brother.

But "Higgins' Journal," with all the ferocious instincts of its vulture nature, at this time was screaming for blood. And at the shrine of the Orange Moloch, of which divinity Mr. Francis Higgins was a high priest, the propitiatory sacrifice was offered up of two more lives on this occasion.

One of the worst atrocities that has come to my knowledge, committed by the yeomanry in Ireland during the Rebellion, was perpetrated in Rathcool, by an Orange magistrate of the name of Christopher Clinch, who resided near Rathcool, in the county Kildare, at a place called Peamount. The barbarities of Clinch in his locality were not exceeded by those of any of his Orange compeers in the commission of the peace. The particular case I now refer to I investigated on the spot

many years ago, and made diligent inquiries into the facts of it—related to me by the son of the principal sufferer—amongst the oldest inhabtants of the village and several of the surrounding gentry. The facts are these:

A baker in the town, in no wise connected with the Rebellion, was startled at daybreak one morning, when occupied in baking, by a small party of yeomanry, accompanied by two women, wives of the yeomen, who had arrived at Rathcool at that early hour, after a long march from some distant part of the county, where they had been on duty. None of the shops in the town were open at the time: they demanded admission at the bakers. They were admitted, and whatever accommodation the place afforded was given to them. Most of the party were more or less intoxicated when they arrived. They asked for bread, but there was none, except what was in the oven, to give them. The fire of the oven had not long been lighted—the bread was not half baked. They insisted, however, on having it, and ate a great deal of it, "and washed down this raw bread with copious draughts of raw whiskey." The consequences were what any rational person might have foreseen. All the party who partook of the raw bread and the "raw whisky" were taken ill—suffered severely from colic and indigestion. They immediately declared they were poisoned. Captain Clinch was sent for, and another Captain of the same corps, of whom better things might have been expected, and on their arrival,

without any form of judicial inquiry, except listening to the clamorous outcries of the infuriated, half-drunken soldiers—an alleged discovery of some white powder in the thatch of the house, said to be poisonous—the unfortunate baker and his foreman were dragged into the street, and shot immediately in front of the house of the parish priest, the Rev. Mr. Harold.

The gallant Rathcool yeomanry terrorist, magisterial man hunter, and summary dispenser of justice, so well known in Rathcool and its vicinity for his vigorous measures, for "the short shrift and dog's death" mode of dealing with peasants, tradesmen and small shopkeepers obnoxious to Orangemen, with suspected rebels in 1798, Christopher Clinch, Esq., of Peamount, county Kildare, and all his seed, breed, and generation, have passed away from the scene of his savage exploits. All that remains in that part of Kildare of which Christopher Clinch, Esq., Captain and Justice of the Peace, was the scourge and the sanguinary tyrant, is a memory that is never blessed by any man, woman, or child of that locality.

This Christopher Clinch married a daughter of Sir Duke Gifford, in 1789; and in the same year his sister, Miss Clinch, of Peamount, married John Keogh, Esq., of Laughlinstown, county of Kildare. Nemesis, in the shape of law, emanating from the Encumbered Estates Court, has visited Peamount and its old proprietary.

Now let us see how Mr. Francis Higgins, in the

Government organ, the "Freeman's Journal," presented this murderous yeomanry business to his readers in his paper of June 23rd, 1798:

"The horrid Rebellion, which at present afflicts this country, has produced at Rathcool a most barbarous instance of the demonaic means which it is capable of adopting, in order to attain its ends. A baker and his journeyman, with other persons, entered into a conspiracy to poison the military stationed there, and so far did they succed in their infernal design, that several soldiers, with their wives and children, are in that state that their lives are despaired of. The baker and his servant, it is said, were immediately shot, *a fate much too lenient for such horrid villains.*"

The conclusion is worthy of Higgins and his journal.

One of the latest notable morsels of leading-article eloquence in the "Freeman's Journal" at the close of the year 1798, is to be found in that Journal, of December 4th. I allude to an elaborate eulogium of the Orange institution, and a defence of its principles. The first paragraph is to the following effect:

"The enmity of the vicious is not the worthy criterion whereby to judge of virtue; and when the abettors of treason and sedition rail against any measure, or any man, the inference is obvious and irresistible—that loyalty is the principle in this case which renders them obnoxious to hatred. Thus the enemies of our King and country, and the disturbers of the peace and happi-

ness of the empire, calumniate the principles of Orange societies and the conduct of their members."

Two years previously the Government was defended in the "Freeman's Journal" from the charge of conniving at the outrages of the Orangemen in the north.

Higgins invariably dealt with the Whig leaders as covert traitors. Thus, in November, 1798, when Tone was captured, we find him described in the "Freeman's Journal" of November 8th, as one of the Whigs:

"Theobald Wolfe Tone, and some other Whigs of Erin-go-brah, are shortly expected to arrive and to answer for their treasons."

The day after the arrival of Lord Cornwallis in Dublin, the "Freeman's Journal" of June 23rd, 1798, thus deprecates any tendency to leniency in the new administration:

"As usual, any change of Government in this country, exercises the speculations of persons, according as they are differently inclined. Thus the favourers of rebellion and anarchy take upon them to make arrangements, and to substitute for those wise, firm, and virtuous counsellors of the Crown who have uniformly opposed and counteracted treason, the men whose inflammatory conduct and harangues have so greatly contributed to the civil war which now deforms and desolates the country. *They talk too of conciliation! That the Marquis of Cornwallis comes over to conciliate!* Whom is he to

conciliate? Rebels with arms in their hands, and vaunting of their numbers? Ask the hordes who have desolated one of the finest counties in Ireland, and made it a universal scene of blood and plunder. Ask them what it is they want?—their atrocities will answer for them. Ask them what concessions will satisfy them?—your property, your power, your Constitutional establishments in Church and State—the separation of Ireland from the Crown of Great Britain: give us your wives and daughters to satiate our base lusts, your lives to satiate our thirst for blood—give us these; and when we can find no longer victims to fall before our barbarous rage, we will then cast away our useless pikes, bask before the smoking ruins of our country, and wallow in the blood we have spread around us."

Oh! how terribly consistent was Francis Higgins in his bloodthirsty conduct and iniquitous career in the "Freeman's Journal!"

CHAPTER IX.

CONNEXION OF FRANCIS HIGGINS WITH THE "FREEMAN'S JOURNAL" IN 1798, 1799, AND 1800.

His Blood Money Dealings in 1798.

The infamy of Higgins was never exhibited more flagitiously than in the articles that appeared in his vile journal immediately previous to the capture of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and for some time subsequent to that occurrence.

The following are the terms in which the capture of Lord Edward is spoken of in the "Freeman's Journal" by its proprietor and conductor, the blood-money dabbler, who had sold to Government the secret information which led to that capture:

"Information having been received that Lord Edward Fitzgerald was concealed in the house of Mr. Murphy, a dealer in feathers and skins, in Thomas Street, Mr. Justice Swan, Major Sirr, and Captain Ryan were there

between the hours of six and seven o'clock on Saturday evening last, with a party of several soldiers, in two carriages."

Higgins then proceeds to give a minute account of the struggle—the death wound given to Ryan—the flight of Swan—the appearance at the door of Major Sirr; of the vain effort of Lord Edward to get at the latter—of Lord Edward "grinning" at the Major at the first sight of him—of Sirr taking deliberate aim, and shooting Lord Edward in the shoulder; and winds up his account with the following observations:—

"The recent events which have taken place in this city now fully prove the necessity that exists for its proclamation."

Coupled with this document he publishes the proclamation, offering a reward of £1,000 for the apprehension of Lord Edward, and thus comments on it:—

"From circumstances that have come to light, it is certain that a general rising of the insurgents was certainly to have taken place by this time, and the city would present a scene of horrid massacre and cruelty. Swarms of the disaffected were crowding into town for the purpose; and, but for the fortunate arrest of a principal traitor, they might now be bathing their poignards in the blood of innocence and loyalty.

"It therefore behoves all men to co-operate with the Government of the country, and to co-operate heartily and vigorously, if they wish to save themselves, their

connections, and their native land from anarchy and blood, and all the horrors that await republican malice and ferocity."

In the "Freeman's Journal" of May 31st, 1798, there is a remarkable reference to a most excellent, brave, and upright man, who subsequently died valiantly in the service of France, of the wounds received in it—Mr. Patrick McCann, of Grafton Street, apothecary of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. The passage is to this effect, that "McCann was apprehended, in his shirt, on the 30th instant, and also his shop assistant, who, when apprehended, acknowledged that he had sold, within a few days, above one thousand ounces of arsenic to various persons, who, he believes, were servants. This very alarming circumstance shews that every precaution is necessary among the heads of families, to avoid any danger that any hellish conspiracy might cause." Higgins' audacious mendacity and malignity, as evinced in this fabricated atrocity, need no comment.

Francis Higgins, a little later, recommended Mr. William Cope, the eminent merchant, residing in Merrion Square, and patron of Thomas Reynolds, for a pension!

It will be borne in mind that the Marquis of Cornwallis, in one of his communications to the Duke of Portland, in the latter part of 1800, brings forward the claims of several gentlemen of distinguished loyalty, who had "done the State some service," of a secret nature, which

service, he proposed, should be rewarded. Amongst these was a Francis Grenville Tracy, to whom a pension of £300 is recommended.

After the services of Messrs. McNally, Reynolds, Higgins, and Co. then came the services of Mr. William Cope, an eminent merchant, residing in Merrion Square. "He was brought forward," says the Marquis, "to testify to the general credibility of Mr. Reynolds, and to prove that he had previously heard from him facts which he stated on the trials."

Accordingly Mr. Cope's swearing to Reynolds' character was rewarded with a pension of £1,000 a year; and, at his death, this little reward was to revert to his wife and his three daughters.

Now let us see how the Viceroy was moved by Mr. Frank Higgins to provide adequately for "Captain Cope."

In the "Freeman's Journal" of September 1st, 1798, we find a letter signed "Candidus," wherein the claims of the Captain are urged on the attention of Government.

The "Higgins' Journal" correspondent (very probably Higgins himself) directed attention to the signal services rendered by Captain Cope on the Attainder Bill, in the case of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, by his vindication of the credit of Mr. Reynolds from the wanton aspersions of the petitioner's counsel. Then "Candidus" goes on to say, "If Mr. Reynolds deserved much from his country, what does the respectable citizen deserve,

who excited his (Reynolds) just compunction, and wrung the momentuous secret from his bosom? . . .

"Let the country then bestow on him some munificent tribute of gratitude for having effected the salvation of the British empire from impending destruction, and giving to his name thereby a well earned immortality.''

The peculiar style of Higgins is very manifest in this production bearing the signature "Candidus."

Who was the gentleman who figures in Lord Cornwallis' list of secret service claims for a pension of £300 a year? "Francis Grenville Tracy £300!" What secret service did he render for so handsome a provision?

It has been stated very erroneously that the person who received the pension above referred to was a lady, a Miss Frances Grenville Tracy; and it is intimated, though not stated in distinct and express terms, that the person who came into the receipt of that pension, was a Miss Frances Tracy, who had subsequently married Mr. Harvey, and whose descendants, highly connected, are in existence. To that statement and inference the reply is short and conclusive. They are both utterly unfounded. *In the first place, the person named in the official document transmitted by Lord Cornwallis to the Secretary of State, is "Francis Grenville Tracy." Secondly, the lady who subsequently became the legatee of Francis Higgins, was a Miss Frances Tracy, who never assumed or bore the name of Grenville, of which fact her signature to legal documents and private letters is a sufficient proof.*

Of that lady's worth and excellence, high moral principles, and strong religious feelings, I have previously spoken in this work. Of the gentleman she married, all that remains to be said, is best given in the words of an intimate friend of his, and of his wife, Mr. Michael Staunton.

From the "Morning Register" of 10th of August, 1826, edited by Michael Staunton, Esq:—

"The Late Phillip Whitfield Harvey, Esq.

"The late Mr. Harvey was the descendant of an ancient family, who had large possessions in Wicklow and other parts of Ireland, which were amongst the forfeitures of the Revolution of 1688. He commenced his career in very early life, in the army, having been presented with a commission as far back as 1794, in a regiment, commanded by his cousin-german, the late Colonel O'Kelly, of Halfmoon-street, London.

"Colonel O'Kelly was honoured with the friendship of his present Majesty, and other branches of the Royal family; and, under his auspices, Mr. Harvey was introduced to the brilliant circle of Carlton Palace, and had formed one of the *suite* of the Prince upon several public occasions. He settled in Ireland early in 1804, and shortly afterwards commenced the regeneration of the "Freeman's Journal," originally established, forty years before that time, by the celebrated Dr. Lucas. It is enough to be said in praise of the energy, talent, and enterprise which he brought with him to his new avocation,

that he raised that journal from a state of comparative obscurity and decay to the first rank of the metropolitan press. Before his time, the Dublin newspapers were at the pitch of literary degradation described by the late Mr. Grattan, when he observed, that if a decently indited paragraph appeared in one of them, it was attributed to a volunteer author of the senate house. No regular editorship was ever attempted in any of them, and notwithstanding the excitements of a resident Parliament, the reporting attractions possessed by all were drawn from the industry of a *single* individual, who supplied copies of his notes to purchasers at a few pence per diem a piece!

"Mr. Harvey brought out this paper with the aid of literary talent that would do credit to the press of London, and it is curious that his enterprise led him to print the first twenty column sheet that was ever used at the diurnal press in this or any other part of the British dominions. The original dimensions of the "Times" and "Chronicle," and their dimensions twenty years ago were not greater than those of the "Saunders" of the present day.

"About 1811 the trade and opulence of the London public encouraged one of these journals to add a column to each page, and the example was soon after followed by the other; but the spirit of Mr. Harvey led him, on the excitement of the very partial bounty which is, at best, the reward of the toils and perils of the Dublin publisher, to make a similar sacrifice so far back as 1805.

"Mr. Harvey was a very serious sufferer in the warfare waged against the independent press in the Saurin administration. In his efforts to resist that ruthless persecution, his pecuniary losses were great, and one publication caused him an incarceration of nine months, though the suffering was not quite within the irons of Newgate.

"At the commencement of the Wellesley Pole crusade against the Catholic Board, it is well known in the newspaper circles, that the greatest efforts were made by the then administration to secure the mere neutrality of the 'Freeman's Journal.' It is understood that nearly the entire newspaper patronage which the Government could command was repeatedly tendered to Mr. Harvey; and this patronage included not merely annual hundreds, but annual thousands of pounds. That he remained unpurchaseable, and that he thus made a greater sacrifice to the popular cause than any other individual placed in his circumstances at the Irish press had ever an opportunity of making, is attested by his indignant and animated pages in the times of which we speak, and by the legal persecution of which he was, in subsequent days, so often made the victim. In Mr. Harvey's character, as a private gentleman, there was great interest and amiability. He was prepossessing in a very high degree, both in person and deportment. His mind was acute and cultivated, and in his manners there was the polish of high life mixed with the ease, obligingness, and affability that should characterise the more subordinate

ranks of society. He was sincere in his friendships, kind and bountiful to all those subjected in any manner to his authority, devoted as a husband, incomparable as a father. He was followed to the grave at Drumcondra, yesterday morning, by a long train of mourning friends, comprising individuals of various shades of politics.

"Amongst others, we noticed Archbishop Murray, the Lord Mayor, Mr. James Grattan, M.P., Mr. Henry Grattan, M.P., Sir Edward Lees, Mr. T. O. Lees, Mr. Peter Burrowes, Judge of the Insolvent Court, Major Sirr, the Messrs. Huband, Mr. Finlay, the barrister, Mr. Wills, Mr. Eccles Cuthbert, Mr. Leland, Mr. Pauncefoote, &c., &c.

"The magnificent fortune of which he is understood to have been possessed, descends to an only daughter of, it is said, very rare personal attractions and accomplishments, to whose education, both here and on the continent, he had for the last few years devoted his chief solicitude."

The following extract is taken from a memorandum, in my possession, of the late Mrs. Henry Grattan, appended to the memoir of that lady's father, Phillip Whitfield Harvey, Esq., written by Michael Staunton, Esq.:—

"Colonel Denis O'Kelly, of Cannons, Edgware, Co. Middlesex, of Clay Hill, Epsom, Surrey, and Halfmoon-street, London. He never married.

"He had one brother, Captain Philip O'Kelly; he married, and had one son, Colonel Andrew O'Kelly.

"He had two sisters—Mary, who married Whitfield Harvey, Esq.; she had an only son, Philip Whitfield Harvey, my father. The other sister married Mr. Tighe, Co. Westmeath, in which he had large possessions.

"They had one son, who married Miss Ogle, niece of Mr. Ogle, the member; they had no children.

"Therefore, Colonel Denis O'Kelly had three nephews. Colonel Andrew O'Kelly, who never married; Philip Whitfield Harvey, who married Miss Tracy, and had one daughter, Mary O'Kelly Harvey; and Sterne Tighe, who married and had no children.

"Philip Whitfield Harvey was the grandson of Dean Harvey, Dean of Gorey, Co. Wexford, who had two sons, Whitfield and John. John was a Captain in the Navy, and was drowned at sea. He was not married."

In the "Morning Register" for Nov. the 21st, 1818, is found the following obituary notice of Mrs. Harvey, wife of P. W. Harvey:—

"DEATH.

"Died, in Stephen's-green, on Tuesday last (the 15th of November), Mrs. Harvey, wife of Philip Harvey, Esq. This truly benevolent and most excellent woman lost her life by a malady which in all cases is most rapid in its progress, but in hers raged uncontrolled, in spite of the

earliest and best medical and surgical advice which this City could supply. In the whole circle of society, we believe there was not a more amiable or estimable person to be found. She possessed all the qualities which could endear her to those who knew her, and make her a useful member of society; an excellent understanding, a kind heart, mild and unobtrusive manners, warmth and constancy in friendship, and the most unaffected ardour to be serviceable to all her fellow creatures."

The writer of this notice was the editor of the "Morning Register," Mr. Michael Staunton, who had been editor of the "Freeman's Journal," Mr. Harvey's paper, and, to my knowledge, an intimate friend and acquaintance of Mrs. Harvey.

No small light is thrown on the connexion of some names mentioned in the preceding notices, and on certain pecuniary relations that existed between the celebrated Colonel O'Kelly, of racing notoriety, some three quarters of a century ago, and Mr. Higgins, resulting in unsettled claims of O'Kelly on the representatives of the latter in 1802 and 1803, in a notice of a marriage published in a Dublin newspaper. "Pues' Occurrences," No. 1590, for Nov. 16th to 18th, 1765:—

"Married, Mr. Whitfield Harvey, printer, to Miss Mary Kelly."

The Mr. Whitfield Harvey above referred to, was the father of the Philip Whitfield Harvey who married Miss Frances Tracy, in September, 1802.

The Miss Mary Kelly above mentioned was the sister of Colonel O'Kelly, of Cannons.

The issue of that lady's marriage with Whitfield Harvey in 1765, was two sons, one of whom was Philip Whitfield Harvey.

At the death of Francis Higgins, the 19th of January, 1802, he (P. W. Harvey) took proceedings against the representatives of Higgins, in virtue of some unsettled claims on the latter, of his uncle, Colonel O'Kelly—claims connected with lottery office insurance speculations, it is stated, in which they were jointly concerned.

Those claims were eventually compromised, and the result of that compromise was the marriage of P. W. Harvey with Miss F. Tracy.

The issue of that marriage is found thus recorded, in the "Freeman's Journal," for Dec. 1st, 1804:—

"At Stephen's-green, the lady of Philip Whitfield Harvey, Esq., of a daughter."

And in the same journal, twenty-two years later, in the list of marriages, in ——, 1826, we find the following:—

"Henry Grattan, jun., to Miss Mary O'Kelly Harvey, of the Co. of Wexford, of the Harveys.*

The preceding notices are not irrelevent to the subject of this work, and with this effort to do justice to it, and to the dead, whose claims on respect are higher even

* The much respected lady above mentioned died the latter part of 1866.

than those of private worth and personal virtues—those namely of an hereditary kind, connected with the memory of a man of transcendant merits, never to be forgotten by his country men—Henry Grattan—this volume may fitly terminate.

APPENDIX TO VOL. II.

NOTICE OF MR. FRANCIS HIGGINS' SECRET SERVICE MONEY DEALINGS.

For sixty-two years the secret of the name of the blood-money recipient who sold the *setting* of Lord Edward Fitzgerald to the Irish Government for £1,000, prompt payment, had been preserved. Numbers of innocent persons have been suspected of the infamy of this transaction in the interim. The memories of several of Lord Edward's followers—nay, even of some who were his bosom friends—have been cruelly wronged by imputations of treachery; by inuendoes and whisperings of authentic revelations of discoveries of their perfidy, which have surrounded their graves with hateful suspicions of their honour, inflicted pain and anguish on their wives and children, which have even placed the lives of some of the followers who survived Lord Edward in imminent peril, immediately after his betrayal.

Peter Finnerty was suspected—Lawrence Tighe was suspected—Murphy's servant woman was suspected—Felix Rourke was not only suspected but tried on that suspicion

by his own associates, and on the point of being put to death by them. A gentleman connected with Lord Edward and his mother by nearer ties even than those of political association was vehemently suspected. Walter Cox was publicly denounced by Brennan in his "Milesian Magazine" as the betrayer of Lord Edward.

Among the persons whose memories have been most seriously injured by suspicions of treachery to Lord Edward, Samuel Neilson may be mentioned. In the first edition of my work, "The Lives and Times of the United Irishmen," I have endeavoured, and I believe successfully, to vindicate his character. The discovery of the secret-service money lists, published in the first edition of that work, in 1842, furnished some data on which his defence might have been grounded; but the documents I was enabled to lay before my readers wholly sufficed to establish his innocence, so far at least as the strongest opinion of his fidelity, entertained and expressed by such men as Hamilton Rowan, Dr. Macnevan, Arthur O'Connor, and Charles Teeling, could effect that object.

The disclosures made in the "Cornwallis Memoirs and Correspondence" are less complete than is generally imagined, inasmuch as the betrayer of Lord Edward Fitzgerald remains still unknown to the public; and the only fact with which we are made acquainted by the "Cornwallis Correspondence" is, that Government employed an editor of a corrupt paper in its pay, to get a person in the confidence of Lord Edward Fitzgerald to betray him. The editor of the Government paper of that day got a gratuity of £1,000, and a pension of £300 a-year, for his share in the transaction; but not one word is said of the means or agency employed by him to effect this object, except this recommendation of Lord Cornwallis to the Secretary of

State for a pension of £300 a-year: "Francis Higgins, of the 'Freeman's Journal,' was the person who procured for me all the intelligence, respecting Lord Edward Fitzgerald and got ——— to set him, and has given me much information."

He was no common person of the lower ranks of life whose name was kept unrevealed by the Irish Government, while that of Mr. Higgins, the editor of the "Freeman's Journal," was unreservedly given by Lord Cornwallis. Of what avail is it to the public to know it was Mr. Francis Higgins, and not Mr. Edward Cooke or Major Sirr, who was the immediate party in communication with the friend and confidant of Lord Edward, who had entered into terms for his betrayal. I repeat it, the "Cornwallis Memoirs and Correspondence" have left us as much in the dark as we were before the publication of that work, with respect to the individual who betrayed the confidence and sold the blood of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

Among the many persons engaged in the conspiracy of United Irishmen who betrayed the secrets of that society, was Mr. John Hughes, of Belfast. His name was referred to by me in the first edition of my work, "The Lives and Times of the United Irishmen," published in 1842; and again, in the same terms, in the second edition of it, 1858, first vol., p. 446.

The whole tenour of my references to Hughes is to this effect—that he had a personal knowledge of Lord Edward Fitzgerald's movements up to April 19th, 1798, and in all probability up to the period of Lord Edward's arrest on May 29th following, and, consequently might have betrayed Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

I had no reason, however, to come to the conclusion that John Hughes was the informer against Lord Edward Fitz-

gerald. On the contrary, I had reason to believe that the informer was not a man of the lower or middle rank, but "a gentleman" of one of the legal professions—but of which of them I was not aware. The initials of his name, F. H., I discovered in 1842, in the original list of secret service money payments, drawn up by the under-secretary of the Lord-lieutenant, and sworn to by him—Mr. Edward Cooke. I had reason to suspect this F. H. was either a barrister or an attorney. I made a careful search in the Dublin Directories of 1797 and 1798, among the lists of barristers and attorneys, for a name corresponding to those initials, but no such name was to be found, except in the case of individuals against whom no suspicion could possibly lie.

The fact is, the name of Francis Higgins was struck off the rolls as an attorney, in 1795, and is not to be found on the list of attorneys in any of the Dublin Directories of a later date. Had his name been found on the list of attorneys in 1798, a clue would have been got, and a track for inquiry opened up, that might have led to the discovery of that mysterious gentleman. Finally, at the end of all my labours in reference to Lord Edward Fitzgerald and his betrayers, I felt myself obliged to make a confession of the failure of my researches, and a statement with respect to the direction in which they ought to be resumed, if any good result was to be expected from them.

I think I may venture to say the following passage in the recent edition of my work, "The Lives and Times of the United Irishmen," 1858, Second Series, is remarkable, bearing in mind that the volume in which it is contained was published before the correspondence of Lord Cornwallis saw the light, and the date alone that is given in that passage, namely, January, 1858, shows that the revelation of the name of the informer was still to be made.

The following words of that passage, I beg particularly to call attention to :

"And now, at the conclusion of my researches on this subject of the betrayal of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, I have to confess that they have not been successful. The betrayer still preserves his incognito : his infamy up to the present time (January, 1858), remains to be connected with his name, and once discovered, to make it odious for evermore. My efforts, however, have not been altogether in vain. I have put future inquiry on the right track. The publication by me of the secret service money account, duly authenticated by the Government official, Mr. Edward Cooke, has thrown some faint light upon this dark, mysterious subject. 'F. H., for the discovery of L. E. F., £1,000,' is the first gleam on it that has been shed. Most assuredly it will not be the last. The secret of the sly, skulking villain has been kept by his employers, with no common care for his character or his memory. But, dead or alive, his infamy will be reached in the long run, and the gibbeting of that name of his will be accomplished in due time.

"To those who may be disposed to follow up these efforts of bringing the villain's memory to justice, I would suggest, let them not seek for the betrayer of Lord Edward Fitzgerald in the lower or middle classes of the Society of United Irishmen ; and perhaps, if they are to find the traitor a member of any of the learned professions, it is not the medical one that has been disgraced by his connexion with it." *

There is a very remarkable document in the MSS. of Major Sirr, deposited in Trinity College Library, which is presented to the public for the first time in the 2nd edition of my work. The document referred to is a letter, in the

* Madden's "Lives and Times of the United Irishmen," New Edition, 1858, Second Series, p. 446.

original, addressed to Major Sirr, from Mr. Secretary Cooke, of which the following is an exact copy :

"Lord Edward will be this evening in Watling Street. Place a watch in Watling Street, two houses up from Ussher's Island; another towards Queen's Bridge; a third, in Island Street, at the rere of the stables near Watling Street, and which lead up to Thomas Street, and Dirty Lane. At one of these places Lord Edward will be found, and will have one or two with him. *They may be armed.* Send to Swan and Atkinson, &c., &c., as soon as you can.

(Signed) "Edward Cooke."

This is strong evidence, indeed, that the information given to Government, intended to lead, and which had eventually led to his capture, came from one entirely in his confidence and in his councils up to the period of his arrest.

Be it borne in mind, though this letter is not dated, it was certainly written on May 17th, 1798—for it was on the evening of that day that Lord Edward was to be laid in wait for in Watling Street, by Mr. Cooke's orders; and certain it is that his information was most exact and accurate. Lord Edward was that evening in Watling Street, and those persons armed. We may reasonably presume that the person in Lord Edward's confidence and councils on May 17th, and who was enabled to give such exact information of Lord Edward's movements on that day, was the same individual who acted the traitor, and did the business of the setting of Lord Edward two days later, namely, on May 19th, when Lord Edward was arrested at Murphy's, in Thomas Street, within twenty-four hours of his arrival there, and that Francis Higgins, of the "Freeman's Journal" earned £1,000 by that blood-money job, and a pension of £300 a-year, which pension died with him.

Mr. Charles Phillips, in his "Recollections of Curran and some of his Cotemporaries," Fourth Edition, 1841, p. 289, appends a note to the following passage in the text:

"There is no doubt now that Lord Edward's life was sold, though by whom is still matter of conjecture."

The note is in the following terms:

"I have had the name of Lord Edward's betrayer disclosed to me: it has never yet been published nor shall it be by me; the innocent living ought not to suffer for the guilt of the dead. It was, however, the act of a Judas. He was to the very last, apparently, the attached friend of his victim."

It is evident Mr. Phillips refers not to Higgins, who never was on terms of friendship with Lord Edward, and if he was rightly informed, must refer to *the setter*, who was employed by Higgins to procure the required information for him.

Among the various persons on whom suspicion has fallen of being the betrayer of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, was a gentleman of the name of Francis Magan, whose name is to be found on the secret service money list, and a pension of £200 a-year attached to it, the receipt of which was unknown to his friends outside his house, at least, I believe it may be said. In the same list, payments of specific grants made to him are also recorded; on one occasion of £300, "per Mr. Higgins," on another occasion of £500 "by direction of Mr. Orpen" (See First Series of same work, pp. 379—488).

Some of the original receipts for payment of Magan's pension, duly signed by Mr. Francis Magan, and officially endorsed in the manner pointed out in the Appendix to the first volume of the present edition of this work, have been in my possession.

Mr. Francis Magan, barrister-at-law (called to the bar in 1796), a Roman Catholic gentleman, resided at No. 20, Ussher's Island, and died there in the year 1843.

Many individuals have suffered grievously from unfounded suspicions of treachery to Lord Edward. The real traitor, however, had his secret carefully kept. The agent who managed the pecuniary part of the business has been discovered; though Mr. Francis Higgins, the miscreant who dabbled in the blood money of this transaction, did his little stroke of business with Mr. Cooke and Lord Castlereagh in a quiet way. He made his overtures and his bargain coolly and carefully, as a calculating gentleman of money-making habits might be expected to do, and with all due precautions for the security of his honour, for concealment, for the recompense of his future claims on his country's secret gratitude for a little pension of £300 a-year, in addition to the prompt payment gratuity of *one thousand pounds*, paid down upon the nail—of the coffin, it might almost be said, of the man he was to get set for Major Sirr; and in the list of secret service money payments we read these words of the original documents first published by me:

"June 20th, 1798.—F. H., for the discovery of L. E. F., £1,000."

Be it borne in mind Lord Edward Fitzgerald died on June 4th, 1798, of the wounds he received at the hands of Major Sirr and his associates some days previously,

While all the suspicions I have above referred to were confounding the minds of men, and causing many innocent persons to be wronged, and paining the feelings of families bereaved of relatives, who were no longer able to defend themselves from foul aspersions on their fidelity, Mr. Francis Higgins "ate, drank, and slept well," was in good repute, and in high favour with the vile faction in power and authority. The secret of his infamy was in good keeping, locked up in the strong iron chest of his own hard heart and the secret official hiding places of all the other deeds of darkness of Cooke and Castlereagh. Happy had it been for

the memory of Mr. Francis Higgins had his act remained undiscovered, after he and his employers had passed away. Higgins lived and died undiscovered, and for fifty-seven years after his decease the world knew nothing of his blood-money dabblings in 1798.

They commenced earlier than Mr. Charles Ross seems to be aware. The first reference we find made to them in the "Cornwallis Memoirs," is in that memorable letter of Lord Cornwallis, to which attention has been so much called of late (See "Correspondence of Charles, first Marquiss Cornwallis," by Charles Ross, Esq., Vol. III. p. 106).

The editor, Mr. Charles Ross, says:

"In 1798, a Bill passed to enable the Lord Lieutenant to grant pensions to the amount of £3,000, as a compensation to persons who had rendered essential services to the Government during the Rebellion. This sum was to be paid to the under secretary, through whose hands it was (confidentially) to pass."

By a warrant, dated June 23rd, 1798, it was divided as follows:

"Thomas Reynolds, his wife, and two sons	£1000
Mrs. Elizabeth Cope and her three daughters	1000
John Warneford Armstrong	500
Mrs. Ryan, Widow of Daniel Edward Ryan, who was killed by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and her three daughters	200
Mr. Francis Magan	200
	2900
The Balance to pay fees, &c.	100
	£3000

Further on, in the same valuable work, we have the following details, at p. 319, Vol. III. :

"A sum of £1,500 per annum was placed at the disposal of the Lord Lieutenant, by an Act of Parliament, passed in 1799, to be distributed as secret service money. Towards the close of 1800, Mr. Cooke drew up, for the use of Lord Castlereagh, the following confidential memorandum, which still remains in the Castle of Dublin."

"'(MEMORANDUM.)

"'PENSIONS TO LOYALISTS.

"'I submit to your Lordship on this head the following:

First that Mac —— should have a pension of .	£300
He was not much trusted in the Rebellion, and I believe has been faithful.	
Francis Higgins, proprietor of the "Freeman's Journal," was the person who procured for me all the intelligence respecting Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and got —— to set him, and has given me much information .	300
M'Guichen, who is now in Belfast, ought to have	150
I wish a man of the name of Nicholson, whom I employ regularly, should have . . .	50
Darragh ought to have for himself and his wife at least	200
(At first written £300.)	
He might be mentioned in the loyalist bill.	
	£1000

Swan, ——
Sirr, ——

"'I think it might be right to get rid of many of our little pensioners, and Major Sirr's gang, by sums of money instead of pensions Marsden will be kind enough to confer with Sirr upon the several cases, and see which can be got rid of by a sum of money—which require stipends.

"'Mr. Wilson and others recommend that Coleman should get office or pension. He lost his property—his house, &c., being burnt down by the rebels.

"'Pollock's services ought to be thought of. He managed Mac —— and M'Guichen, and did much. He received the place of clerk of the crown and peace, and he has the fairest right to indemnification.

Samuel Turner	£300
Francis Grenville Tracy	300
Leonard MacAnally	300
John M'Guichen	150
Mr. and Mrs. Daragh	200
Edward Nicholson	50
(James) Gray	50
Mrs. (Mary) Eldow	30
(Richard) Harpur	50
(Richard) Callaghan and (Anne) wife . .	40
	£1,470
(Rev.) —— Gilmer	30

These revelations leave us wholly uninformed as to the traitor who actually betrayed Lord Edward; who sold his blood to the agent of the Government — Mr. Francis

Higgins. All that we have learned from the recent publication of the "Cornwallis Correspondence" is, that Francis Higgins obtained the secret for Government of Lord Edward's place of concealment, but of the setter employed by Higgins we know nothing, and all that we have reason to conclude is, that the setter was one in the confidence of Lord Edward and his associates.

From the reference to Francis Higgins in the preceding passages, the proposed pension of £300 a-year would appear the only recompense the secret services of Mr. Francis Higgins had a claim for.

Twenty-five years ago I published in the "Lives and Times of the United Irishmen" the official document above referred to—the list of payments of secret service money. The following items will be found there:

"January 13th, 1798. — Mr. Cooke, for Mr. Higgins £100
June 20th. 1798.—F. H., for the discovery of L. E. F. 1000
September 11th, 1800.—Magan, per Mr. Higgins 300"

In the last entry of a secret service payment, we find Mr. Higgins getting a large sum of money for Francis Magan —that gentleman likewise a mercenary, secretly-paid agent of the Government, residing close to Moira House, where Lord Edward had more than once interviews with his wife during the time of his concealment at Murphy's and M'Cormick's—a gentleman strongly suspected, as we find by a pamphlet of Mr. Joseph Hamilton, of being the betrayer of Lord Edward. For more ample details respecting the career of this Magan, who dishonoured the profession of the bar, and his numerous receipts of secret service money

grants, and the pension of £200 a-year conferred upon him, September 19th, 1799, see notice of Francis Magan in the First Volume of the Second Edition of the "Lives and Times of the United Irishmen," 1858, p. 393.

Perhaps the particular service rendered by Francis Magan, for which £300 was paid to him through the hands of Francis Higgins, may be yet discovered. Perhaps we may yet learn also for what particular service Mr. Francis Magan received a secret service payment of £500 in one round sum, by direction of Mr. Orpen, December 15th, 1802 (See Secret Service List of payments to informers, &c., First Series of "Lives and Times of United Irishmen," p. 384).

In the "Freeman's Journal," of August 6th, 1798, we find the attention of Government turned by its editor, Mr. Francis Higgins, to the movements of Lord Wycombe, in a paragraph worthy of Mr. Higgins:

"Lord Wycombe, son to the Marquis of Lansdowne, is still in Dublin. He has gone to Wales and back again to Dublin several times. His lordship has given many parties in the city, it is said, but they have been of *a close, select kind.*"

The nobleman thus marked out for surveillance, a little later Marquis of Lansdowne, died in 1809. His death is noticed in the "Annual Register," 1809, p. 697.

Higgins' peculiar powers of eloquence we find put forth, ever and anon, in leaders, on great occasions. Thus in the "Freeman" of November 22nd, 1798, on the confusion then existing in France, and "the serene tranquillity of British power, ever leading to conquest and glory," we have the following *morceau* of declamation, which young gentlemen at school might be taught for examination exhibitions of their oratorical powers with great advantage:

"Now, when the common enemy of human society totters to its fall, and the political Polyphemus is rendered almost harmless by the wisdom and courage of the British Ulysses —coward policy advances from its hiding-place, and claims a late and safe participation in the glory of the monster's death. Thine, Britain, will be the pre-eminent glory! let cold-blooded and trembling politicians follow—they will but

"'Swell the triumph and partake the gale.'"

Higgins was particularly happy on this occasion. It was for services of this kind his journal was maintained in the pay of the Irish Government, and was justly considered a fit and proper organ and advocate of its *regime*. One of the chiefest blessings of the British constitution, a free and uncorrupted press, was duly appreciated by the Irish people, no doubt, at the period above referred to, and long subsequently to it—justly so appreciated, as we find by one of the recently published supplemental volumes of the "Correspondence of the Duke of Wellington." *

FRANCIS HIGGINS' TOMB IN KILBARRACK CHURCHYARD.

In the burial ground of the old, ruined church † that bears the name of Kilbarrack, on the road to Howth, the remains are interred of a great man of his day, a zealous supporter

* "Lives and Times of the United Irishmen," Second Edition, 1860, Vol. IV., pp. 572—575

† Dalton informs us that this very ancient chapel, commonly called the Abbey of Kilbarrack, or Kilbarrock, formerly belonged to St. Mary's Abbey, of Dublin. It is said to have been founded as a votive chapel for mariners, and in commemoration of those who suffered shipwreck on this coast.

of Orange Institutions, of the Constitution, and Protestant Ascendancy interests, a fierce champion of the Church connected with the State, a philanthropist of the kind that manifests its benevolent feelings to humanity in a last will and testament with which it is determined by the donor the world should be fully acquainted in due time. The name of that individual was Francis Higgins. The costly tomb erected to his memory was surmounted by a very large and thick horizontal slab, which bore a very long and remarkable inscription.

Some individual, evidently acquainted with Higgins' career, had broken off a long, narrow piece at the top and most important part of it, whereupon the name of Francis Higgins had been inscribed. In the first line and on the second line some words are obviously deficient. Thus it stood on January 29th (at the expiration of fifty-seven years from the date of Mr. F. Higgins' decease), when the following copy of the inscription was taken by me :

. . . . . 'S, ESQUIRE,

. . . . . of DUBLIN

. . . . . this Life on the 19th of January, 1802,

Aged 56 Years :

By PHILLIP WHITFIELD HARVEY, and FRANCES, his Wife,

Legal Representatives of the Deceased.

And they deem it but just to his Memory here to inscribe that he has left bequests behind him—a memento of philanthropy, liberality and benevolence, to the

POOR AND DISTRESSED,

More durable than can sculptured marble perpetuate, as it will last for ever, and be exemplary to all those to whom Heaven has entrusted wealth and affluence :

ONE THOUSAND POUNDS, VIZ.,

He bequeathed to be laid out in landed securities, the annual interest on which to be applied to the relief and discharge of poor debtors in the City Marshalsea, on Christmas Eve in each year ; also several other sums of money to truly charitable purposes :

ONE HUNDRED POUNDS

To the Lying-In Hospital ;

FIFTY POUNDS LIKEWISE,

To Simpson's Hospital ;

AND TWENTY POUNDS

To the Blue Coat Hospital ; and

TEN POUNDS

To each of the Protestant and Roman Catholic Schools in the CITY OF DUBLIN.

READER,

You will judge of the head and heart which dictated such distinguished charity to his fellow-creatures, liberal as it is impartial, and acknowledge that he possessed the true benevolence which Heaven ordains and never fails everlastingly to reward.

I think it will be admitted that this inscription is unequalled in the history of sepulchral literature. Walter Savage Landor, in a letter of his some years ago published in the "Athenæum," stated that he had examined a vast number of epitaphs of ancient and modern times, and that he had found only three or four that were worthy of admiration. Landor, unfortunately, was not acquainted

with the inscription on the tomb of Francis Higgins, or this remarkable epitaph would have swelled the number of his eulogised inscriptions.

Since I copied the inscription on Higgins' tomb in 1859, the slab has been mutilated to such an extent, that the greater part of the inscription has been rendered illegible.

SIC TRANSIT GLORIA MUNDI.

But it is in my power to do more for the memory even of this bad man than the frail monument and the foolish inscription on it, have sufficed to effect for it.

To Judge Berwick, one of the trustees of the late Henry Grattan, I am indebted for a letter of the late Mrs. Grattan, dated May the 4th, 1866, from which the following reference to the family of her mother, Mrs. Harvey, *née* Tracy, is taken :—

"My mother, Miss Frances Tracy, was the daughter of Mr. Thomas Tracy. The maiden name of Mrs. Tracy was Hamil, and that of her mother Eustace.

"The family of my grandfather, Thomas Tracy, were of an old respected Catholic family of that name, in the county of Kildare, and had large possessions in that county; but were dispossessed of them in the times of penal law persecution . . .

"In that family of Tracy was the Rathcool Peerage, and in the family of Eustace, of Kildare, connected by marriage with the former, was the title of Blessinton. An ancestor of my father was the last Roman Catholic chief justice in Ireland—Chief Justice Tracy, long previously to the Catholic Emancipation Act, of 1829. . . .

"Though I lost my dear mother at the age of twelve years, I have a strong remembrance of her. Her noble qualities approached so near perfection they made a deep and lasting

impression on my mind. All my recollections of her are of one whose life was passed in doing works of charity and of kindness to all who came into contact with her. It was through the influence of that ever active goodness of her nature that Mr. Higgins was brought to repent of his acts, and to contribute largely to various charitable institutions in Dublin. She possessed not only the rare excellence of sound judgment and common sense, but kindness of heart in an eminent degree. Her personal appearance was remarkably attractive, and equally so was the charm of her conversation, and the cordiality of her look and manner. . . . .

"Signed

"Mary O'K. Grattan."

These reminiscences of a beloved mother will be read with interest by those who are aware how that mother had been grievously wronged and misrepresented.

On that subject I will only make one observation more in addition to that which I have already said.

Those acts of Higgins which Mrs. Grattan refers to, were bad indeed, infinitely worse too, than in all probability that lady had any conception of. They had their chastisement, however, even in this world. The only good action of his life, of which one record remains, the only one the real worth and disinterestedness of which cannot be called in question with truth and justice, was that on account of which he had been most egregiously and unjustly wronged and calumniated.

I allude to his discharge of a debt of gratitude that he had incurred in early life to Thomas Tracy, when the latter was in good circumstances, and he, Francis Higgins, was in great difficulties, and re-paid when his early benefactor was on his deathbed in very straitened circumstances. On that occasion

an assurance was given to him that he need be under no anxiety on his daughter's account, that the obligation he (Higgins) had been under to him should not be forgotten, and all the care that the daughter of Thomas Tracy stood in need of she should have at his hands,—that promise was kept faithfully by Higgins, and he was wronged in relation to it most foully.

END OF VOL II.

INDEX TO VOLUMES I. AND II.

A.

Absentee Tax Proposed in 1773—Protest of Irish Landlords Against, i., 423

Achmet—An Hibernian Turk Charlatan; his Turkish Baths and Medical Patrons, entertained in his baths; denouement of ditto, ii., 409

Acta Diurna of the Romans—Dr. Johnson's Account of, i., 27, 28

Agrarian Conspirators — The Kelly Mount Gang, Account of, in 1739, 275

Aliens—The Irish, formerly so reputed, in their own country by the laws, and dealt with by their Rulers, i., 25. Impolicy of the Railing Propensity in the English Press, Parliament, and Pulpit, i. (Pref.), 24

Almanacks, Irish—First Dublin Almanack, 1694, 240. Dr. John Whalley's Prophetical Almanacks. Cork Almanack, *Vox Stellarum*, 1724, 251

America—Irish Emigration to 1770, and important results, i. (Pref.), 32, 33, 42

Andrews, Mr., his Account of Irish Journalism not particularly exact, i., 189

Anster, Dr., first Appearance of, in print in 1818, ii., 86

Arbuckle, James, a Writer in Dublin Newspapers, in 1725, author of letters signed "Hibernicus," i., 257; his Death in 1740, i., 291, 306; the Letters of, published in the "Dublin Journal," ii., 50

Armagh—"The Head Centre" of the power and influence of the Irish Established Church, one of the latest of important towns in Ireland in which printing was introduced, ii., 248; no Newspaper or Literary Magazine published there prior to 1800, ii., 249

B.

Barrataria—Letters by Flood, Grattan, &c., in the "Freeman's Journal," ii., 401

Belfast Newspapers — The "Belfast News Letter," its exuberant Loyalty displayed in Eulogies of unparalleled Fulsomeness and Flunkeyism on George II. and his Heir, early ii., 212

Belfast Printing, Origin of, i., 168; ii., 207, 212

Belfast Bible Printing Controversy, i., 169; ii., 208

Bible—First English Version of, claimed for Wycliffe in 1381 or 1384. Myles Coverdale's printed in England in 1535. The Version called "Cranmer's Bible," printed in London in 1540 i., 18, 19. Earliest English Version with certainty known to exist, 4to. Ed., printed by Rhames, in Author's possession, i., 171; ii., 208, 212

Bible, first English version printed in Ireland. Controversy respecting alleged printing in Belfast of first English Bible, by James Blow, at various periods, by Archdeacon Cotton; by Writer in "Belfast News Letter;" by Lowndes; by author of "Historical Collections of Belfast," namely, in 1704. 1714. 1716. 1764. Result of author's researches, that no English version of those dates existed in any library in Ireland; and that the earliest known existing one, in his possession, is a 4to. ed. of the Holy Bible, printed by A. Rhames for E. Dobson, Dublin, 1714*, ii., 207.

* Since the matter above referred to was printed in the 1st and 2nd vols., embodying the controversy in question, and the result of it in the preceding statement of author's opinion, the only copy of an English version of the Scriptures printed in Belfast by James Blow that has been seen by any person in the United Kingdom I have heard of, has been discovered and seen by me. It was purchased in London by Mr. Daly, bookseller, of Dublin, at an auction of books in the month of July, 1867. The size is 12mo. The title, "The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments. By His Majesty's special command appointed to be read in churches. Bel-fast: Printed by James Blow for George Abraham Grierson, printer to the King's most excellent Majesty, at the King's Arms and Two Bibles in Essex-street, Dublin. 1755."

Blasters, the, Club—A blasphemous society existing in Dublin in 1757; analagous to "The Hell Fire Club," denounced in a report of the Irish House of Lords, March 10, 1757, ii., 417.
Book trade in Ireland. John Dunton's account of, i., 74.
Burke, Edmund. His first published production a pamphlet against Lucas, 1749, i., 231.
Brooke, Henry—First Editor of "Freeman's Journal," in 1763, ii., 374. 389. 491

C.

Carson. "Jemmy," a humourist newspaper and pamphlet publisher in 1725. His "collections," 261.
Catholic Confederation Council. Their press in Kilkenny and Waterford from 1641 to 1644. i, 133.
Clare, Lord Chancellor, triumph of, over the "English Courier Journal," and verdict of £1,000 for libels on his lordship, in July, 1799. End of the career of, the 28th January, 1802, having survived his great triumph over his country's independence upwards of one year. ii., 83. His father, John Fitzgibbon, denounced as a convert from popery, still retaining popish principles. ii., 421.
Clare and Ennis's Early newspapers, ii., 241.
Clonmell—Newspapers early, ii., 249.
Conway, L., father of the late F. W. Conway, proprietor of the "Connaught Gazette," ii., 247.
Cork Press, publications of, in 1650, &c., i., 157.
Constitutional Institutions in Ireland, simulacra of, Parliament of the Pale Courts of Justice, and results of penal law regime. i., 27. The statute of Kilkenny and its dealings with "the Irish enemy and the degenerate English. i., 27. Poynings' Law and its operation, i., 39. "Introduction of English civilitie into Ireland, Reg. Hen VIII., i., 25.
Cork Press, publication of, from 1648, i., 157. Newspapers early, ii., 164.
Cornwallis—Memoirs, &c.; Revelations of Secret Service Money Recipients, ii., 510

D.

Drennan Dr. William—His literary merits and labours, i. (Pref.), 7.
Droz, Rev. Mr.—Originator of the "Literary Journal, the first Literary Magazine in 1744. i., 288.
Drogheda early newspapers, ii. 249
Dunton John—His eccentricities, publications, squabbles, &c., i., 74. 214
Dublin Newspaper Press, Early. *See* Newspapers
"Dublin Press," first newspaper. 'The Dublin News Letter,' published in 1685, i., 199. Early productions of, from first work, printed in 1551, to end of the 17th century, i., 90 to 163

Dublin Evening Post:—
Published by Powell, in 1732, ii., 267
One of the early numbers for 26th May, 1733, *in extenso*, ii., 269
This paper did not long survive
After being long abandoned, revived in 1756, and died out in a short time, ii., 296
Printed by L. H. Powell, established in 1778; the immediate predecessor of the present Journal of that name, ii., 297
In 1788 and 1789 its proprietor, John Magee, carried on a warfare of libellous raillery with a man of unparalleled infamy, Francis Higgins, then proprietor of the "Freeman's Journal." Results of that contest ruinous to Magee in purse, person, peace and sanity of mind, ii., 299
The dragging of the ermine through the gutter, practised on a grand scale by a partisan judge, Chief Justice Lord Earlsfort, future Lord Clonmell, a friend of Higgins, ii., 301
Affidavits of Magee, setting forth the infamies of F. Higgins' career of felonious crimes, ii., 307
Incessant attacks of Magee on Higgins, and of Higgins on Magee, ii., 307
Trial and conviction of Magee, ii., 312
Liberation after long imprisonment. His published announcement of a grand fete at Dunleary, adjoining the house and grounds of the Lord Chief Justice, called Fiat Hill House, &c. His Lau Braugh Plashura programmes, ii., 325
Re-committal of Magee to Newgate by the Chief Justice, ii., 330
Magee driven mad by legal persecution, ii., 332
Lord Chancellor Clare's excellent conduct in his judicial capacity, ii., 335
His liberation from jail. New fiats to an enormous amount, issued by Lord

Chief Justice against him, and re-committal to Newgate and new trials and convictions, ii. 346
Suits of Miss Frances Tracy, Francis Higgins, and Richard Daly, ii , 349
Exposure of the conduct of Lord Clonmell, in the House of Commons, by Mr. Ponsonby, ii , 350
The affidavit sworn by Miss Francis Tracy against John Magee, the 18th June, 1780, ii., 363
An article of Magee's, in reply to this affidavit, obvious signs and tokens of insanity
Vindication of the character of Miss Tracy by the author of this work, the result of searching inquiries made by him, of persons of unimpeachable credibility, who had been well acquainted with that lady. Statements to the author of Mr. Michael Staunton and Mr. Thomas Flanagan ii. 355
End of the Magee and Higgins news paper war at the close of 1789, ii , 370
Ruin of Magee in circumstances and health of mind and body ; his paper conducted by members of his family, in his name, to the time of his decease, in 1811, ii., 371

E.

Earthquake—Account of shocks felt at Cork, Dungarvan and Carrick on Suir, in the spring of 1761, ii., 221
Elrington, Thomas, an actor of merit, death of, in 1732. ii., 180. Another performer of same name Ralph Elrington, in 1733, ii , 289
Emmet, Dr. Robert, marriage of, in 1760, ii . 57
English Civilitie, Introduction of, into Ireland by similar means attempted as by those used in New Zealand, i. (Pref.), 33
English Mis-rule in Ireland, compared with the govermental *regime* of other powerful and prosperous states, i. (Pref), 19

F.

Famine, danger of, from the extensive abandonment of tillage in 1756, ii., 55
Foote introduces George Faulkner on the stage, in the character of Peter Paragraph, ii , 27
Faulkner, George, proprietor of the "Dublin Journal," ii., 1. His early career as printer ii., 3 Swift's Ironical Memorial to Parliament of George Faulkner and Grierson, setting forth that there is nothing treasonable in Irish gentlemen, &c., reading books, ii., 8. The 'Dublin Journal,' an exact transcript of the first number, ii., 12. A memoir of Geo Faulkner, ii., 22. Satirised by several of his contempories. Jephson, Courtney &c., ii. 37. Epigram of Ierne, on Jibers and Buffoons ii. 42. End of career of G. Faulkner, ii., 45. Monument of, ii. 46. Succeeded by his nephew, Thomas Todd Faulkner as proprietor and publisher of the 'Dublin Journal," in 1775. His death in 1793, ii., 73 Declaration of Irish policy in his paper in Jan., 1789—'That Ireland had nothing whatever to do with English factions," ii , 74 Sad fate of the "Dublin Journal,' at the death of T Todd Faulkner, fell into the hands of "Jack" Giffard. Became a venal Government organ, ii., 81
"Freeman's Journal'—Its establishment in 1763. Early managers and arms of first editor of Henry Brooke. The Chief Scribe, a schoolmaster named Clarke. Dr. Lucas an occasonal contributor ii . 373. Curious mistakes and misstatements of English writers, respecting Irish affairs and matters of history, ii., 375. Turgid and declamatory style of writing in the 'Freeman' ii., 379. Bitter hostility of, to the religion of Roman Catholics and unfailing intolerance of its politics and polemics, ii., 189, 394. The intolerance of Lucas throughout his career, ii , 388 Specimens of the poetry of this journal, ii , 397
"Freeman's Journal"—The character of. its zeal for liberty and religion exhibited in bombast, furious railing, and rabid fanaticism, ii., 422. Abuse of Grattan, in, 1682, ii , 425. Changes in its politics in 1779, and proprietorship in 1783, ii., 425, 427.

G.

Gazettes, English first, the "Oxford Gazettee," 1665, i,, 236; the "London Gazette," 1666, i., 236
Giffard, John—His Connexion with the "Dublin Journal" in 1793; a Specimen of the Amenities of Orange Newspaper Literature at the hands of the

Dog in Office, ii., 85; Memoir of the most notable Firebrands of their time, Giffard and Duigenan, ii., 101
Grierson, George, King's Printer, death of, in 1759, ii., 57
Grogan, Cornelius, Reference to the judicial Murder of, in 1798, ii., 245
Grattan, Henry, written against, "to order," in the "Freeman's Journal," by Higgins, ii., 441, 445 449. 456; Denounced as a Traitor by Higgins, ii. 457

H.

Harvey, Philip Whitfield—First connexion with the "Freeman's Journal," Novr., 1802, ii., 432; Biographical Notice of, ii., 496; his family connexions, ii., 429; marriage with Miss Frances Tracy, ii., 433; issue by that marriage—a daughter, Mary, married to Henry Grattan, junr., ii. 501; death of Mrs., in Novr., 1818, ii., 499; vindication of Mrs. Harvey's memory, ii. 449; obituary notice of, ii., 499
Hay, Edward, Sec. of Cath. Com —Imprisoned for Debt; his long Services to Catholic Cause badly requited, ii., 97
"Hibernia Dominicana"—Notice of the Author Thomas De Burgo (Burke), i., 129, 143
Hiffernan, Dr. Paul - His Satirical Production against Lucas, the "Tickler," &c., 1748, i., 314. Notice of Hiffernan, 320
Higgins, Francis, of infamous Notoriety; his Tomb in Kilbarrack Churchyard, near that of a venerable Clergyman of a great fame for sanctity, Rev. Dr. J Sweetman, ii., 69. Connexion with the "Freeman's Journal," as a Writer, from 1779; as a Proprietor (from Registry, 1783: succeeded by his residuary legatee, Miss Frances Tracy, August 6th, 1802. The preceeding Miss Tracy succeeded by P. W. Harvey (her Husband), as a proprietor, November 23th, 1802, ii., 432, 436. His career of venality and villany, ii., 440; his abuse of Grattan, "to order," from 1783, ii., 441, 449, 485; ditto of Dean Kirwan, ii., 456, 485; his persistent policy of hypocrisy carried out in the "Freeman's Journal," ii., 449; infamous calumnies on R. C. priests and religion, ii. 248, 476, 481; abuse of the Duke of Leinster, ii., 464; glorification of his labours in the "Freeman's Journal," in behalf of the British Constitution, ii., 470; his first secret service money exploit, ii., 479; his truculency and savagery exhibited in the "Freeman's Journal," ii., 483; the constant cry for blood in it in 1798, ii., 488; his defence of the worst atrocities in 1798 ii., 488; his secret service money doings, and their rewards in 1798; his blood money in the case of capture of Lord E. Fitzgerald, ii., 490, 503; his death in 1802, ii., 432; his tomb and fulsome eulogies inscribed on it, ii., 516. The one good act of his life, 2, 519.
Harvey Mrs., her marriage, death, &c. See Tracy, Miss Frances
Hume, Historical Mistatements of, respecting Ireland, i. (Pref.), 13

I.

Irish History, Macaulay's Ideas of Mode of dealing with, i., 14 Sydney Smith's very different Views, 1, 14

J.

Jebb, Henry, Dr.—Author of "Letters of Guatimozin," in 1779, in favour of Irish Interests, "bought up" by Government in 1780; deceased in 1782, ii., 431
Jones, William Todd, Obituary Notice of, ii., 87
Judicial Barbarities in Ireland—Execution of a Protestant Clergyman, Edward Sewel, in 1740, i, 280 Woman Burning in 1746, i., 280. Rebels, how dealt with in 1745, i., 291, Woman Burning in Dublin, 1760, i. 230. Legal Murder of Rev. N. Sheehy, 1760, i., 232. Fourteen Executions in Cork the same day, April 14th, 1725, i., 258 Six Brothers condemned to be Executed in Waterford, August 23rd, 1740, i. 279. Woman Burning in Dundin, for coining, in November, 1745, ii., 53. A Boy of thirteen years of age Hanged in Limerick in 1768, ii., 72

K.

Kerry, ii., 242
Kilkenny Press Publications in 1643, &c., i. 134, 129
Kilkenny Statute—An Account of its savage Provisions, i. (Pref.), 28
Kilkenny Journals, Early, ii., 236

Kirwan, Dean, reviled by Higgins in the "Freeman's Journal," ii., 455, 469

L.

Limerick Journal, ii., 202.
Literature—Its discouragements in Ireland. i. (Pref.), 10., 13. The causes of its discouragement on the operation of the Pale regime in Ireland, i., 81.
Londonderry Journal ii., 241.
Lucas, Charles—The successor of Swift as an advocate of Irish rights, i., 42. Brief notice of, 313 Degree of Doctor of Physic conferred on by T. C. D., in 1761, ii., 65. Arrival of, in Dublin, on the 15th of March, 1761, after his twelve years' exile. Meeting of electors on the 17th of same month, and unanimous resolution of his being a fit and proper person to be returned to Parliament, ii., 223 Death of, November 4th, 1771. Account of the funeral, procession, and public burial in "Freeman's Journal," ii , 420. His long, dull, dreary, verbose addresses, ii., 401
Lynch, Patrick an eccentric pedagogue of considerable learning; obituary notice of, ii., 91.

M.

Magan, Francis, Counsellor, his secret service doings in 1798, ii., 511, 514
Magazines, Literary—Their origin, advantages, viscissitudes, difficulties. failures, &c. i. (Pref), 7. Their precursors, essays miscellanies, &c., i., 81. 295.
Madden, Dr Sam.—Premiums for improvement in arts, &c., 1739 273.
Mercuries, English—Printed in England, i., 29. 58. First supposed English newspaper, the "English Mercurie," a spurious paper, i. 61. 78. 81.
Molyneux, William—His work, "Case of Ireland;" analysis of burnt by common hangman i. (Pref.), 38.
Molyneux, William—The first effectual advocate of Irish Parliamentary rights and privileges, i., 42. "Case of Ireland being bound by English Acts of Parliament," analysis of, i., 38. Reputation of, i., 62.
McNaughten, murderer of Miss Knox—Account of execution, ii., 59.
Moore, Thomas, Banquet to, ii., 89.
Mornington, Lord, grandfather of late Duke of Wellington, Death of, in 1758, ii., 59.
Musgrave, Sir Richard, obituary notice of, ii., 89.

N.

Newspapers—Ben Johnson's staple of news. Influence of newspaper lore. Advantages of, tendencies of, at all periods, i. (Pref.), 3 Exaggerations of its power for good and insufficiency of, for great moral ends and aims. i. (pref.),6 Dr. Johnson's account of the Acta Diurna of the Romans, i., 21. "Public Intelligencer," published by Lestrange i, 34. Censorship of, i., 37. 43. 45. 49 53. "Oxford Gazette," i. 41 Liberty of the press, recognised in 1688, 42. Judge Scroggs and the press, i., 58. On the persecution of printers in 1740, i., 77. Old newspaper lore, influences of, i. (Pref), 2.
Newspaper Press, Irish Earliest—First Irish newspaper printed in Dublin in 1685, by Thornton, the "Dublin News Lettor," i, 199. The next in order of time—The "Dublin Intelligence," printed by Crook, appeared in 1690, i., 200 The "Dublin Scuffle," by John Dunton, giving an account of state of Irish literature at the close of the 17th century, i., 214 Irish newspapers from 1700 to 1750, from 221 to 293. The "Flying Post or Post Master," 1699, 221. The "Dublin Gazette, or Weekly Courant," 1703, 223. The "Dublin Intelligence," published by Dickson, 1705, i, 224. "Pue's Occurrences," 1703. The "Dublin Mercury," published by Powell, 1704. i., 233. The "Dublin Gazette," 1705, i., 233. The "Postman," 1707, 237. The "Diverting Post," 1709. i., 237. The "Protestant Post Boy," 1712, i., 238. "Whalley's News Letter," 1714, i., 239. The "Dublin Castle," 1708, i., 252. "Waters' Dublin Intelligence." 1708, i., 252. The "Flying Post," published by Waters, 1729, i., 253. The "Dublin Weekly Journal." 1725, i., 254. George Faulkner's "Country Gentleman," 1726, i, 261. Anbury's "Weekly Journal," 1727, 262. "White Hall Gazette," 1726, i. 263. The "Dublin Postman," 1726, i., 263. The "Silver Court Gazette," 1726. Hume's "Dublin Gazette or Weekly Courant," 1737, i. 264. Dickson's "News Letter," i., 1727, 264. Walsh's "Dublin Post boy," 1727, i. 265. Hussey's

"Weekly Post or Dublin Impartial Intelligence," 1728, i., 265. George Faulkener's "Dublin Post Boy," 1728 266 J. Hoey's "Dublin Post Boy," 1732, i., 266. Waters "Dublin Journal," 1729 i. 267 Carson's "Dublin Post Boy." 1729. i., 267. Hussey's 'Flying Postman, or Dublin Postman, 1729, i. 267. J. Hoey's "Dublin Packet." 1730, i., 268. Walsh's Dublin Weekly Impartial News Letter," 1728 i., 268. Dalton's "Dublin Weekly Impartial News Letter,' 1734, i., 268, "The County Journal,' 1735 i. 269. "The Universal Advertiser,' 1731, i., 271. Reilly's 'Dublin News Letter,"1731, i., 271. "The General Correspondent," 1740, i, 282 Esdall's 'News Letter" (the predecessor of Saunders News Letter), 1746, i., 282. "Saunders' News Letter," 1755, i., 282. "General Advertiser," 1754. i., 283 "The Shepherd, 1759, i., 203 Sleator's "Public Gazetteer," 1758, i., 283. The "Dublin Courant 1740 i., 285. The buying up of from 1783, ii., 454. The system of venality and corruption pursued by the Irish Government. The purchased services of Giffard and Higgins in the Press ii, 454. Records of sureties of Proprietors and Publishers from 1783, ii., 433, 434. Higgins' career from first to last in connexion with the "Freeman's Journal, ii., 440. His secret service money dealings, ii, 503. Rewards of ditto, ii., 507, 512. His spies, setters and subordinates, ii., 515. His death, and burial, and monument ii., 516

NEWSPAPERS, IRISH PROVINCIAL. BEFORE 1800.

PUBLISHED IN CORK.

The "Freeholder,' 1716, ii., 167. The 'Medley,' 1738, ii., 167. The "Serio-Jocular Medley," 1738. ii., 168. "Swiney's Cork Journal' 1754, ii., 168 "Bagnell's Cork Evening Post." 1755, ii., 168. "Knight's Cork Evening Post," in 1754, ii, 169 The "Cork Chronicle, or Universal Advertiser," 1764, ii, 170. "Busteed's Cork Chronicle,' 1768, ii., 172. "Flynn's Hibernian Chronicle,' 1768, ii., 172. The "Hibernian Morning Post," 1776, ii., 179. The "Cork General Advertiser," 1776, ii., 179. The "Cork Journal," 1778, ii, 179. The "Cork Weekly Journal," 1789, ii, 180. The "Cork Gazetteer," 1789, ii., 180. The "New Cork Evening Post," 1791, ii., 182. The "Cork Packet," 1791, ii., 182. The "Cork Gazettee," 1793, ii., 182. The "Cork Courier," 1794, ii., 183. The "Harp of Erin," 1798. ii, 185. The "Cork Herald, or Munster Advertiser,' 1798, ii., 186. "Morgan's Cork Advertiser," 1799, ii, 189

IN WATERFORD.

The "Waterford Flying Post," 1729, ii., 191. The "Waterford Journal," 1775, ii., 191. "Ramsay's Waterford Chronicle,' 1765, ii., 191. The "Waterford Mirror, 1800. ii., 195. The "Munster Packet," 1788, ii., 197. The "Waterford Herald, 1791, ii., 197. "Carey's Waterford Packet," 1791, ii., 201. The "Waterford Advertiser," of unknown origin, ii., 201

IN LIMERICK.

The "Limerick Chronicle,' in 1766, ii., 202 The "Munster Journal," 1766. ii., 205 The "Limerick Journal," 1787, ii., 205. "Law's Limerick Herald, 1788, ii., 207. "Hargrave's Limerick Herald, 1787, ii., 207.

IN BELFAST.

"Belfast News Letter and General Advertiser," 1737, ii., 207 "The Northern Star," 1792. ii., 225. The Newry Journal," 1775 ii., 235.

IN KILKENNY.

"Finn's Leinster Journal," 1776, ii., 236

IN VARIOUS PLACES

"Martin Burke's Connaught Journal," 1729, ii., 241. The "Clare Journal," 1776, ii., 241 The "Enniss Chronicle, 1776, ii., 241. The 'London Journal, 1772 ii. 241. The "Kerry Evening Post, 1773, ii., 242. The "Wexford Chronicle," 1782, ii., 242. The 'Westmeath Journal, 1783. ii., 243. The "Athlone Herald, 1785, ii., 243. The "Athlone Sentinel,'

1789, ii., 243. The "Wexford Herald," 1789, ii., 244. "Lord's Munster Herald," 1788, ii., 244. The "Sligo Morning Herald," 1793, ii., 243. The "Sligo Journal," 1800, ii., 247. The "Connaught Gazette," 1797, ii., 247. The "Drogheda News Letter," 1800, ii., 249 The "Clonmel Herald," 1800, ii., 249.
Newspaper Press, Early Provincial—That in England long in existence before the Irish Provincial Press, ii., 165
Newspaper *Quid Nuncs.* A Polonius of the Press. *Nigaud a grand nez.* A Rock of Sense, *alias* a solemn Humbug, Lines on, ii., 265
Neilson, Samuel—Account of his Labours in the "Northern Star" and Society of U. I. M., ii., 225
"Northern Star," set up by Members of the Belfast Society of United Irishmen, among the foremost of whom was Samuel Neilson

O.

O'Connor, Charles, of Ballenagare—His Relations with G Faulkner, and Correspondence with, ii., 93
O'Neil, Henry, Sir, an ancient Baronet of Great Britain. Death of in 1759. A Descendant of his existing in indigence in Dublin in 1865. Supported by Sir Bernard Burke, ii., 61
O'Kelly, Colonel, uncle of P. W. Tracy, ii., 496, 498, 500
Orangeism—One of the peculiar Characteristics of its Truculency. The baseness of its Servility, ii., 217

P.

Pamphlets, Derivation of, i., 22. "Pamphlets of Newes," i., 29. Extensive Collection of the late Charles Halliday, i., 117
Parliament, Irish—Early History of, i. (Pref.), 25. Molyneux's Vindication of, i. (Pref.), 45. Independence of affirmed by Act of James II., i. (Pref.), 36. Contests of with English Parliament, i. (Pref.) 37. Various Advocates of its Independence, i. (Pref.), 43. Account of Early History published in the "Dublin Journal," ii., 66
Pale, English, Regime in Ireland—Demoralising Effects of i. (Pref.), 13, 18, 25, 33, 67. The Pale and the Press in Ireland, i., 73, 88
Penal Laws—Acts of William and Mary, i. (Pref.), 40
Penal Law Regime in Ireland—In the time of Elizabeth, James, Charles I. and II., i (Pref.), 68, 70, 71, 72 to 82
Penal Law Act, passed in April, 1734, to prevent Persons converted from the Popish to the Protestant Religion and married to Popish Wives, educating their Children in the Popish Religion, or acting as Justices of Peace, ii., 291
Periodicals, fore-runners of Magazines—Miscellanies, Collections of Essays, with some Characteristics of Newspapers, 1710, i., 295. The "Examiner," reprinted in Dublin, Swift's Contributions to, 1710—1713, i., 295. The "Intelligencer," Swift's Contributions to, 1724, i., 297. "Lucubrations of Salmanazar Histrum" and the "Plain Dealer," 1730, i., 303. The "Temple-oge Intelligencer," 1728, i., 303. The "Weekly Amusement, or Universal Magazine," 1735, i., 307. The "Medley," 1738, 307. The "Cork Serio-Jocular Medley," 1738, 307. The "Medler," 1743, i., 308. "Brett's Miscellany," 1748, i., 312. The "Censor, or Citizen's Journal," originated by C. Lucas, 1749, i., 312. "Dann's Universal Advertiser," 1753, i., 314. The "Tickler," by Dr. Paul Hiffernan, 1748, i., 314. The "Marrow of the Tickler," 1748, ii., 320 The "Literary Journal," published by Rev. Peter Droz, first Irish Literary Periodical, 1744, 338
Periodical Literature—Uses and Influences of old Newspaper and Magazine Lore, i., (Pref), 2 Illustrative of fatuity of exaggerated Expectations, i. (Pref.), 6. Obstacles to in Ireland, i. (Pref), 87. Late Introduction of into Ireland, i., 90. The frequent Failure of, i., 7. Peculiar Necessity of adequate Encouragement for, i., 7. Patrons of, severely taxed; W. E. Hudson, his Sacrifices for, i., 7
Pope's complimentary Lines on the English "Mercuries," "Medleys," and "Miscellanies" of his time, i., (Pref.), 79
Poynings' Law—Enactment of, in 1494, i. (Pref.), 30
Prior, Thomas—The Friend and Fellow-Labourer, in the Royal Dublin Society, of Dr. Samuel Madden; death of, in 1745, ii., 53
Printing—Introduction of, into various countries on the continent, i., 1. Ditto

into England and Scotland, 8. First bible printed in England, 18. Uses and abuses of, 20.
Printing—in America, i., 72. Not patronised by the "Lord of the Pale," i., 73, 87. First book printed in Ireland, in 1551, i., 90. Dr. Rutty's account of early Irish printing, i., 91. Ames' ditto, i , 91. Archdeacon Cotton's ditto, i., 92. John Ussher, at his cost, printed his Protestant Catechism in Irish, in 1671. Impediments to printing in Ireland, i., 124. Specimens of early Irish Printing, from 1637 to 1688, i., 123, in Dublin, Waterford and Kilkenny. The Holy Bible(Protestant version), first printed in English in 1755, in Belfast, for Grierson, of Dublin; controversy respecting, i., 169 to 182. Various Catholic Bibles printed in Ireland, and on the Continent for Ireland, in English, from i., 182 to i.. 183, 184
Printing of Early Irish Newspapers, Tracts, &c—Startling example of ignorance prevailing in England, on subjects relating to Ireland, to be met with in Andrews' History of British Journalism, in his account of early Irish newspapers, i., 189
Preface—Epitome of Irish History, illustrative of a state of society adverse to all civilising influences; explanatory of late introduction of the art of printing into Ireland, and application to periodical literature; design and objects of work not previously undertaken; qualifications required for it, i., 1—82
Protestant Church Establishment in Ireland—Peculiar character and results of, i. (Pref.) 34, 63, 68, 71, to 82. Remarkable exemplification of mode of dealing with the canons and constitutions of, in a despatch of the Lord Deputy Strafford, i., 119

R.

Race, Supposed influence of, on character and conduct of nations greatly exaggerated, i., 19. Erroneous views prevailing in England, especially respecting distinctions and characteristics of, i., Pref. 20. Differences of, the result generally of force of external circumstances, i. (Pref.), 22. Recuperative power of, the most strongly marked characteristic of Celtic race, i. (Pref.), 23.
Rattening on the Sheffield plan, practised on a small scale in Dublin, in 1735, by the Liberty Boys. Engagements between them and the military. Lists of killed and wounded, ii., 223. Another affair, of same opponents, ending in murder, ii., 295
Rebellions in Ireland—Cost of reduction of Irish rebels, in reign of Elizabeth. Ditto in reign of Charles I. and II, i. (Pref), 34 and 41. Confiscations in 1641, 1653, i., 35. Ditto, treated of, by Lord Clare, i., 63. Elizabeth's panaceas for Irish evils. The rack and torture of suspected Irish, i., 68
Reprint of English newspapers in Ireland—Of "The London Chronicle" for 1758, i. (Pref.), 167
Rowan, A. H.—Freedon of the City voted to, for conduct in the case of Mary Neal, and exposure of that of Lord Carhampton, ii., 80. Ditto, ii., 301
Ruined Castle, The—Remarkable lines on, ii., 95

S.

Santry, Lord—Of notoriety for eccentricities, ii., 53
"Saunders News Letter," Peculiar merits and defects, ii., 259
Scotch Newspapers, Early—"Edinburgh Gazette," i., 41. Ruddiman's account of "The Mercurius Caledonius," i., 60. Other early papers, i., 67, 68. Earliest "Gazette" published in Edinburgh, 1715, i., 236
Scroggs, Chief Justice—References to, in "The Freeman's Journal." Of the tendencies of legal functionaries to become bad friends of liberty, and faithless champions of the press and popular rights, ii., 333
Servitude of Irish Children. Stealing of Irish children "for the plantations"—The practice of kidnapping children and selling them in the American Colonies—proclaimed a felony in 1768, by the Grand Jury of Dublin, ii., 71
Sheares, Henry, Elected Member of Parliament, ii., 65
Smith, Sydney—Unpublished MS. account of English mis-srule in Ireland, consigned to oblivion by Macaulay, i., Pref. 14
Swift, Dean—Successor of Molyneux, as an advocate of Irish rights, i.(Pref.) 42 and 43. Ovation in honour of, by the Liberty Boys, bonfires, consumption of barrels of beer in drinking the health of the Drapier, in April, 1733,

ii., 287. Ditto, ii., 289. His death, October 19th, 1745. Notice of in "The Dublin Journal," ii., 51. Proposed monument to, ii., 52, 69. His bequest of about £12,000 to found an hospital for lunatics, ii., 52. The only one of his friends faithful to his memory, the Rev. Dr. Dunkin, ii., 48

T.

Taylor, Dr. (the chevalier), an eccentric and erratic Charlatan oculist, career of ii., 282.

Temple-Oge Spa—A fashionable watering place in 1731. Notice of in "Dublin Weekly Journal," 255. "The Temple-Oge Intelligencer," 1728, 303 304,

Theatrical Rows in 1758, in Sheridan's management, ii., 61. In 1819, in F. E. Jones's management, ii., 99.

Thom, Walter—In 1816, on the death of Giffard, became joint proprietor and editor. He was the father of the much respected Alexander Thom, Queen's printer of the present time. Notice of his career, ii, 93.

"Tickler, The"—A satirical periodical written by Dr. Paul Hiffernan against Dr. Lucas, i., 314.

Trinity College—Row between patrons of rival professors of Hebrew, Mr. Christian Tandy and Abraham Judah, ii., 289. Another recreation of the young gentlemen of Old Trinity terminating in the murder of a junior fellow, the Rev. Edward Ford, "who had unfortunately given offence to many scholars," ii., 290.

Tracy, Miss Frances, legatee of Higgins, deceased, in 1802, proprietor 6th August, 1802. Succeeded by Philip Whitfield Harvey, Nov. 13, 1802, then recently married to Miss Frances Tracey, ii., 432. Her affidavit in proceedings against Magee of "Dublin Evening Post," ii., 365. Her character vindicated. ii., 365, 494. Her marriage with P. W. Harvey, ii., 433. Issue by it, a daughter, married to H. Grattan, junr., ii., 501. Miss Frances Tracy confounded with a Francis Grenville Tracy, a recipient of secret service money, and vindication of her character. ii., 494, 519. Her death, in 1818, ii., 499

U.

Ussher, William—His predecessors and their enlightened acts, i., 109. Career and labours of Archbishop James Ussher, i., 110.

V.

Volunteers, Irish—Origin of, ii., 63. Their resolutions of non-consumption of English manufactures. Action on it in 1784, by shopkeepers; also by manufacturers in 1789. Threats against violators of non-consumption resolutions, ii , 79

"Volunteers Evening Post"—A *soi disant* national paper, set up by government in opposition to the men of, 1782, ii., 455

W.

Waterford Press—Publications of in 1641, i., 129. 134. 154. Newspapers before 1800, ii , 189.

Whalley, Dr. John, a newspaper editor. Astrological almanack maker, a No-Popery firebrand, notice of. Lines on another Saint of the same name, i., 249.

Whalley, Buck—His wager in 1798 of £20,000, to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and return to Dublin in four months, ii., 79.

William III.—Measures in Ireland of "the Great Deliverer" for the Irish trade and "true religion," i., 40. Prohibition of woollen manufactures in Ireland, i., pref. 47. His violation of the Treaty of Limerick, i. (Pref), 41. Ruinous results of the prohibition of Irish woollen manufactures, i. (Pref.), 41. Emigration caused by it, i. (Pref.), 41.